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A

SYSTEMATIC VIEW

OF THE

FORMATION, DISCIPLINE, AND ECONOMY

OF

ARMIES.

By ROBERT JACKSON.

Πολεμικοι τε και ευβουλοι δια το ευκοσμον γιγνομεθα, το μεν, ὅτι αἰδως σωφροσυνης πλειστον μετεχει, αἰσχυνης δε ευψυχια.——Πολυ τε διαφερειν ου δεῖ νομιζειν ανθρωπον ανθρωπου, κρατιστον δε ειναι ὅστις εν τοις αναγκαιοτατοις παιδευεται.

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PREFACE.

IT is customary with those who write books, whether of instruction or amusement, to explain, by preface, the motive for writing, and to detail the mode of proceeding in executing the task. The observance of such custom may be thought to be more than usually necessary in the present case; for the subject of the following pages which is nominally military, as it is foreign to the Author's ostensible pursuit of life, will be considered, by most persons, as lying beyond the reach of his flight. Hence, as it might be deemed a boldness to touch upon privileged ground without strong reasons of necessity, he takes the liberty of noticing, in a few words, the nature and force of the causes which have allured him into this field of adventurous speculation.

In the course of thirty years acquaintance with military service, and the actual experience of two wars, the subject of the formation, discipline and economy of armies often forced itself upon his notice. As he often had the opportunity of considering the elementary parts of the military fabric in their least compounded state; and, as he had not acquired any knowledge of the principles of military organization by formal instruction as a military officer, he was left at liberty to form opinions, and to draw conclusions from the direct observation of what he saw, ---unshackled by the constraint of schools. His observations, which were drawn as it were by accident from original sources, were often repeated, even varied and modified by experience of varied service, or by opportunities of examining the modes of

different people, as an unnoticed spectator. They thus necessarily swelled out to some magnitude; and, as there is a natural propensity in the human mind to form attachment to objects which are frequently presented to it, so the Author, connected with military service, and naturally enamoured of a military life, looking with interest on every thing which concerned the operations of war, was insensibly seduced into a consideration of the radical principles of military discipline and economy, as the part of military science most nearly allied with the pursuits of his ostensible profession.

Impressed with the opinion (though perhaps deceived in judgment) that his observations on the formation and management of troops are not without importance, he now attempts to analyse the facts, to digest the materials which he had collected at various times in different countries, and finally to offer the fruit of his labour to the public for perusal. He is sensible, that his work is neither arranged in lucid order, nor dressed in elegant language, but he is not without hopes, that, when correctly studied, it will be found to be justly reasoned. If tedious in some parts, or disfigured by repetitions in others, he has to plead in excuse, that he is more desirous to inculcate useful truth than to furnish transient amusement. It is the main object of his attention to investigate the powers and qualities of the physical properties of man individually, according to classes and nations; to impress the utility, and to suggest the means of arranging the parts in the military fabric, according to the powers of exertion rather than the semblance of external figure; to animate the fabric, so formed, by the strongest and most extensive principle which operates upon animal structure; and, to preserve the fabric, so arranged and animated, in a state of efficiency by the observance of a correct system of economy. It is probable that, in the execution of this view, he may, in many

many instances, only repeat what has been said by others; or, that he may, in some cases, contradict the greater authorities of the military schools. If errors or repetitions of this nature occur in any place, it is hoped that they will be ascribed to ignorance, as connected with a limited view of the subject---from defect of experience; for the substance of the matters contained in the following pages, as principally drawn from individual observation, is necessarily drawn from a confined source. But though the range of observation be limited, the facts are correct; for they have been often verified in experience. It is thus presumed, that the principles inculcated will be found to be demonstratively true,---consistent with the physical powers and properties of human nature; consequently practicable in all cases, if there be found resolution to practise them. This is the basis assumed in constructing the work. If it does not stand on this ground, it has no foundation. It then will be of no value, and the Author will regret that it has been offered to the public.

It may further be remarked, with regard to the nature of the work in question, that it is general in its character, and philosophical in its design,---intended as an attempt to analyse the causes of human action on general grounds, as relative to armies. But, though composed with a general purpose in view, it is at the same time added, that, if any hints, contained in it, should prove useful in contributing to perfect the fabric of the British army, the Author's gratification will be real,---his satisfaction extreme. He cannot indeed be very sanguine in his expectations on this head; for, while many causes combine to oppose the effective operation of his principles in the existing state of society, the grace of composition---the vehicle which serves to make instruction palatable to people of refined taste, unfortunately is not under his command. The beauty of the attire,

attire, in the present case, will attract no one; the ruggedness of the manner may revolt many. But, if no good should accrue to the public from a perusal of the following tract, there exists a perfect conviction that there is not the most distant possibility of evil arising from its widest diffusion. Those, who have lived the longest, seen the most of military life, and estimated things with the most discerning eye, are, it is believed, perfectly convinced, that it is only the good man who proves himself to be the good soldier, when severely tried in difficulties and dangers. With this fact in view, the leading point in the system of discipline, detailed in the following pages, is directed to impress the necessity, and to suggest the means of rendering a soldier proud as a soldier, and virtuous as a man.--- Without pride, he will not be uniformly brave; and without virtue, there is more chance that he prove the scourge of a nation than the defender of its liberties. Such is the intention; it will be a security against blame: the execution is defective; it scarcely will obtain praise.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

THE immense system of the universe, a creation of Almighty power, in which the human race occupies a distinguished place, appears to be held together and guided in its movements, by the action of a general and apparently of a simple cause. To appreciate the precise qualities of the principle which thus maintains the existence of all, and which regulates the movement of subordinate parts, implies a knowledge beyond the sphere of human comprehension. To observe, to class and to arrange, according to obvious and near relations, the multifarious appearances which present themselves to the eye, whether in things animate or inanimate, is a subject which powerfully attracts attention; and it is a subject, in which human powers are capable of making some progress. Man, a distinguished part of the creation, is gifted with reasoning faculties, that is, formed with a capacity of observing, and endued with a talent of classing and arranging, according to character or near relations, the numerous things which meet the eye in the course of his observation. The result of his examination and research terminates in the confession,---that systematic order obtains universally, and that the products, on the surface of the earth, animate or inanimate, though infinite in number, possessing peculiar forms and peculiar structures, distinct, and individually perfect in organization, are yet only parts of an extensive

tensive whole,---separated partially, and connected generally after a simple, but incomprehensible, manner, one circle moving within another circle through an unlimited series---from the volume of an atom to the immensity of space. The effect which arises in the extent of this chain is infinite; but the intimate structure of the organization, which produces this infinity of effect is unknown. In attempting to penetrate the veil which covers the mysterious operation, the mind, absorbed in the contemplation of ineffable power and wisdom, loses utterance and all distinct idea. No knowledge is attained of manner: the most inquisitive, and the most enlightened rest with confession of ignorance,---humbly acknowledging the fact, that the organism of the universe—and of man, consists in a figure of action, impressed upon matter, by the operation of an incomprehensible hand.

The form of action, here impressed, implies a species of creative power. Its operations tend, by a regular gradation of process, or series of processes, to produce an ultimate effect, connected with a design. And in this manner it may be observed, that the operation of organic mechanism, whether animal or vegetable, resolves itself, generally, into a power of attracting what is fit and useful for the support of life, the preservation of health, the execution of the offices of a particular organ, or system of organs, and, conditionally, into a power of rejecting what is hurtful, or of neglecting what is unnecessary. The property is thus radically simple; but it is infinitely diversified, and it is allotted to an infinite variety of purposes. In those bodies, which are the direct product of the earth and which are rooted in the soil, the organic action appropriates such part of the matters within the sphere of attraction as is necessary to support life, to promote growth, and to produce the ultimate effect, which is the germ of reproduction. The operation is here physical and simple:

simple: it arises, as an effect of the contact or near approach of bodies which are fitted, by their natures, to act upon each other. This is strictly and physically organic, but in the higher class of animals, possessed of locomotive power and faculties of mind, the law of organic action, though hinging upon a common basis, assumes a wider range. It possesses a great variety of form; and it is modified by a great variety of causes. Human action, for instance, does not spring solely from direct corporeal impression. It originates from objects which are remote. It is called up by memory or recollection of past impression: and, as it sometimes arises originally in this manner, so it is capable of being modified in its progress by similar causes,---causes not corporeal, or not apparent to the eye.

It is obvious to the most cursory observer, that animal, even that vegetable nature, possesses peculiar and distinct forms of organization; that every form of organization possesses irritability, or a capacity of being acted upon by foreign substances, and of assuming forms of action varied in force and figure, according to the power of the agent and the peculiar circumstances of the organism. This principle of irritability, that is sensibility to impression, which is the source of all action, is inherently greater in some bodies than in others. It is not equal in degree in every organ of the same body; and it rises or falls in its scale, according to the application or absence of certain general causes. Hence, as conditions change arbitrarily and change generally or locally, impression is faint or acute; and hence action, the consequence of impression, is torpid, or runs relatively into excess of activity under the application of similar degrees of physical force.---Of the general causes, which affect the activity or torpor of matter, alternations of heat and cold are the most conspicuous. Heat promotes, cold retards or suspends chemical action; a similar cause in-

fluences the activity or torpor of organic structure. But, though the causes which modify chemical and organic action are similar; and though the spring of action, which seems to consist in the application or near approach of principles or qualities opposite to each other, is fundamentally one; yet the effect is widely different. In chemical action, the parts of matter approach to, or recede from each other with different degrees of velocity and force according to chemical rule. They embrace, as it were by mutual impulse, lose form and substance,---a body of a new form and of a different nature arising from the union. In organic action, the materials which excite movement, and which are necessary for the support of the organ in its functions and offices, are selected and appropriated to their purposes; but the structure, contrary to what happens in chemical action, is not necessarily and immediately destroyed by the union of principles of different and opposite qualities. The organ possesses, in its structure, a domineering or assimilating power, which preserves a control; for though stimulated to action, by sensation of a want of what is necessary for its support and functions, the action is, in some respects, limited,—ceasing or abating with satiety. Hence it may be inferred, that there resides, in the structure and constitution of organic bodies, a certain instinctive, though unconscious intelligence or faculty, directing to what is useful, even regulating in some manner the measure of what is necessary. This is true generally: it is however only true as the outline of a rule; for, there exists no law, in the structure of organic bodies, which determines the measure of the wants of organs with undeviating and unerring exactness. Organic action, which may be considered as the index or expression of the wants of organs, bears relative proportion to the quantity or importance of the wants as exciting causes, and the state of irritability of the organ; and

and, as both these are capable of great and arbitrary variations, the limits of the action are consequently liable to be arbitrarily transgressed.—Heat, as observed above, is a general physical cause of activity in matter, and of increased sensibility in organic structure. In defect of a due degree of heat, the movements necessary for the support of life and growth, whether in the vegetable or animal subject, are languid and ineffective,—the product puny and imperfect. In a degree of heat, which raises the activity of matter and the sensibility of organs higher than the usual pitch, the movement of the organ is animated, parts expand, growth is rapid, effect accelerated,---probably improved in brilliancy and beauty. The rule of action is so far simple; and limited deviations in consequence of excess or defect, though they influence, are not destructive of the purposes of nature, which are safety of life and efficiency of function. But, as organism is formed to act physically in obedience to causes, and in correspondence with their force; and, as movement stagnates, in defect of causes of excitement, so it is accelerated irregularly by undue excess. Commotions arise, the functions of organs are disordered or destroyed; and the life of a part or of the whole is endangered, enfeebled, or actually annulled. These effects, which are common, may be physical consequences of increased action from the application of stimulating powers, offending only by excess; but as organism is excited into action, by the previous want and subsequent application of matters necessary for useful purposes, so, possessing sensibility, it is irritated by the application of matters, which are foreign to its uses; the movement is disturbed, thrown into convulsion; the vital and creative process is stopped prematurely, or life is cut short by violence.

The whole expanse of nature is comprehended in one system; and the life or movement of the material world, originat-

ing in one source, appears to be influenced through all its forms and gradations by general and common causes. Every part of nature is a type of another, connected by a general principle, but separated into classes by distinct boundaries, and diversified subordinately in the classes by an infinity of modifications. The productions of the lower world are divided into three grand classes, animal, vegetable and mineral.---The formation of the mineral kingdom, or the principle which moves this part of nature into action, is but obscurely seen and not well understood; for, though chemical art decomposes, and even forms anew, it has not yet attained the knowledge of forming as nature forms. It has not developed, in all its discoveries, the precise nature of the principle, which may be condescended upon, with safety, as the sole and universal agent in the numerous processes of formation in the mineral class. The power of fire is most obviously connected with the creation of new forms; but, if fire be supposed to be the radical cause, it necessarily follows, that the action of this element must be directed by fixed and given laws through an infinite variety of organized channels; for no human or arbitrary and accidental application of the powers of fire produces effects upon matter, which correspond with those of the elaboratory of nature. A peculiar mode of application is necessary; and hence it may be concluded with some probability of truth, that the great mass of the earth, as a whole, has its own form of organization; that its internal movements, (its accretion and decay,) are organic, depending upon a central power, diffusing itself by given rule through given organic channels. The manner is unknown; the effect is visible. ---In the vegetable class, the life or movement is simply and purely organic according to the common acceptation of the word,---the mechanism selecting, and appropriating what is useful and fit for the purposes of growth and reproduction.---

In

In animals, and in man the chief of animals, the law of action is organic; but the organism is complex and varied in a multitude of manners; the operations of various parts moving separately according to their separate and peculiar rules; yet all conspiring in their offices towards the production of one general purpose or effect. The life of animals,---the growth or increase, the ultimate effect or reproduction consist of various processes of attraction and separation. So far life or animal action may be considered as mechanical and organic, moved, and maintained in motion by material and gross causes, and acted upon by direct impulse of matter. But in some animals of the higher class, particularly in man, there appears to be a capacity of retaining impressions and of renewing action, by the memory of these impressions which are past;—even of controlling and counteracting the customary effect of causes of mechanic action, by an invisible power of mind. This power is peculiar to certain classes of animals, perhaps peculiar to man alone. It is more prominent in certain classes or tribes than in others; and it is particularly eminent in certain individuals of the same class.

The life, or movement of the universe, seems to arise, to be maintained or balanced in the physical, equally as in the moral world, by the meeting or contention of opposite principles. The process is thus a series of attractions and separations,—an expression and effect of desires and aversions. As the expression of the vital principle consists in motion; so the activity of motion, going beyond its bounds, exhausts the fund of action, leading prematurely to rest, the completion of which is death. In masses of matter, separated from organic connexion, so that no controlling power any longer exists, the materials of opposite qualities run rapidly and inordinately into action, destroy each other, and produce a third body, or new product. This is exemplified in the mineral and inanimate class; but, even in organic bodies,

bodies, and in organized forms, where the controlling organic power is weakened, or where the acting cause is increased in force, so that balance between the parts is lost, the movement becomes rapid and inordinate, the fund of action is exhausted, or the material is absorbed;—disorganization takes place, and death ensues. It thus happens, that parts become dead and effœte in the animal body, while the organization of the system continues to preserve its existence and to execute its functions generally. In a similar manner, parts of the great system of the universe die in succession and disappear: the general movement of the universe continues in order and in vigour; the parts run into new combinations, and assume new forms, while the great circle does not cease to revolve, in its established course, with all corresponding harmony.

Man is a whole as an individual; but he is only a part in the general system of the universe. The causes, which affect the movements of his mind and the action of his organic mechanism individually, also affect the mental movement and corporeal action of the aggregated class, in a relative proportion. When man, singly or collectively, acts merely in obedience to the wants and desires of his simple organic nature, the developement of his physical powers is slow; his movements are temperate,—often torpid, as if simply an animal acting from immediate impulse, and led, by grosser material causes, to execute the physical purposes of his creation. The stream of life moves on in one equal tenor: there is little which strikes the senses, and scarcely any thing which pleases the fancy; for the mind has attained no extent of expansion. On the contrary, when man is acted upon by strong and varying causes, the movement of the organic structure is accelerated, the action is rapid, the developement of mental qualities is sudden, and the effect is brilliant and dazzling. But, as excess of action in corporeal

poreal structure, and equally in mental movement, implies a loss of balance, consisting in a loss of the power of control, accumulations or undue aggrandisements take place partially and irregularly ;—of these suffocations or congestions are natural consequences: Or, if instead of partial movement, the excessive action be equally diffused and long continued, the impelling cause abating of its force, or the sensibility of the organ being exhausted or obscured by long application, the sense becomes torpid, and the action stagnates: whence corporeal and mental energies disappear, so that virtues are no longer to be found in the individual, or in the aggregated mass of numerous nations.

It is an obvious and trite observation, that all the parts of nature are connected with each other by sympathy; and, that every complete or independent part is typical of another, following a similar law of rise, progress and decline. The law of rise, progress and decline, observed in the history of man individually, furnishes an example of the mode of rise, progress and decline of the aggregate,—in classes, by tribes or nations. It is written legibly in the annals of the world in all ages, that nations emerge from obscurity at certain periods, attain grandeur to a certain extent, and from grandeur decline to decrepitude and imbecility,---in some degree typical of the infancy, youth, manhood and old age of the individual subject. There is evidently a tide in the affairs of men: the developement of human powers and the splendor of human action move in succession over the surface of the earth, advancing upon some parts and receding from others,—seldom appearing in equal activity, or in the same state of progress in different countries, or among different nations at the same periods of time. This tide of power and splendor has flowed and ebbed in some countries repeatedly in rapid successions: in others, the impulse of splendor has been less brilliant, but the course of the continuance has been

been longer, while there are certain parts and districts of the globe, where the tide of human glory has not yet appeared.

The resemblance, in the history of man individually, and in the history of the aggregate or society in tribes or nations, is singular and striking. Man, when he first breathes the air, is helpless,—without positive knowledge of what is useful or hurtful,---an organic structure acted upon by physical wants, and obeying corporeal impressions---without forethought or controlling power of mind. His first rational acts are expressions of gratitude, indicated by affection for those who supply his wants---for parents, nurses and attendants. The attachment is artificial---an expression of gratitude, or an obsequiousness in expectation of favour, frequently and arbitrarily transferred from one to another. The circle widens in the progress of life: as the circle widens, the bond of union is proportionally weakened; and the individual begins to feel his own being and importance. At a certain period of evolution the senses are attracted by the charms of the corresponding sex. The animal feels and begins to think: His thoughts are filled with love, perhaps with ardent love for the sex and with sentiments of benevolence for the whole race, of which he now holds himself to be a part. This period is the youth,---the most amiable and the most interesting period in the history of man's life. The sensitive faculties, which are acute and vigorous, expand and embrace the whole interests of the human kind, connected with a desire of assimilating and incorporating different parts in friendly union. An impression of power is felt in expansion and union of parts; and ambition of power takes its rise in consequence of the impression,---at first a benevolent, rather than domineering ambition. The full expansion and the perfection of growth are marked by acquisition of power. Power, acquired in the prime of life with all the sensations of benevolence,

degenerates,

degenerates in declining years into tyranny, lust of dominion for dominion's sake, and stern command with a contempt of inferiors. In youth the physical power is sensible, active and expansive; at the period of full growth, the sensibility diminishes; love for the sex and sentiments of benevolence for the race decay; the towering ideas of mind languish: For, as the powers of sense expand in the early period of life, accompanied with sentiments of kindness and acts of generosity; so they wither and contract into selfishness and indifference in declining years. It is thus, that heroism and love of glory mark the character of youth; timidity and love of money are the known characteristics of old age. The physical sense is acute, and easily acted upon in the one case; it is torpid, and difficultly moved in the other; whence the customary actions are silent or at rest, in defect of adequate power of stimulation. This is a natural progress in the history of man; unless, where an action of marked energy of mind has arisen in the expanding period of glory, forming an institution, which controls the physical propensities as they tend to selfishness, torpor and inaction, and turning the movement into a mental channel, connected with a sentiment of virtue, which, as an immortal and inexhaustible object, supports a progressive improvement during the continuance of animal life.

The history of nations and kingdoms, which is the history of man in the aggregate, has a strong resemblance in its course to that here described as referring to man individually. In the infancy or savage state of society, the motives of action are apparently direct corporeal impressions producing organic effect, ---indicating instinctive wisdom, but manifesting no proof of reasoning or forethought. In the progress and course of things, a combination of various causes unites to produce expansion of the physical powers. The barbarous state arises, in which, while the energies are strong, the motives of action are less di-

rectly corporeal. A mind, or thinking faculty emerges and expands,---sentiment becomes a motive of action: Sentiment, which is an opinion of things founded in feeling rather than in demonstrative conviction of reasoning, is more directly the product of this early stage of society. It is thus that love of country and kindred, love of sex and love of glory, which are sentiments rather than reasons, stimulate man to acts of enterprise. This belongs to the emerging stage of society; and in this stage, there is generally displayed, besides the general object of aggrandisement, a desire of assimilating, incorporating and consolidating power by union of parts; that is, of extending the bounds, and uniting the bands of society for the prosecution of common designs. This is the period of warlike glory; the period, when men are great in action, though not skilled in science; the passions are strong, the friendships ardent, the resentments fierce. Acts of plunder, of rapine and murder are committed on foes without remorse,---committed often, for those are held as foes who are strangers,---and committed with pleasure, for property acquired by the sword, as marking a superiority of power and courage, is esteemed to be property of the most honourable acquisition. The philosophy or the religion, which teaches charity and love towards all mankind, and which raises its voice in vain, even in civilized ages, cannot be expected to be heard, in the barbarous periods under view. The leading feature in the present case, is marked by an association of wills, and combination of powers to act, in a common design, for a common purpose. The spirit of conquest is here paramount; conquest being once made, the desire of consolidating the acquisition and maintaining power next arises. Conquest comprehends a common object. The instruments employed in the execution of the work are numerous, active, enterprising and united; for the acquisition attracts the eye of many. The consolidation

solidation of power belongs to one, or to a small number;---the means of force employed in maintaining the sovereignty are mere instruments: Here commences the exercise of tyranny, limited and modified by circumstances, but radically, and fundamentally tyranny. The course of ambition of power is originally open to few; the acquisition leads to a consolidation of effect in one. Avarice, or love of money, the next grand motive of action, is common to all men, and open to many. It is radically a solitary motive; its aim, uniformly selfish, monopolizes wealth with avidity in the hopes of attaining power and securing dominion: ambition has a contrary course; it prosecutes conquest, and aims at dominion in the hopes of engrossing wealth. In the stage of society, where the love of money is the paramount object of pursuit, the movement is various, active and enterprising: the effect brilliant, dazzling and splendid. But the object is insulated; self usurps dominion on its own account, and the operations of man have no well cemented union; the social affections are weakened; the love of country is lost; the whole soul is absorbed in a desire of gain; the whole thoughts employed in speculations and trading adventures, in grand exhibitions of gaming, or in petty gamblings, intriguing and money changing. In this latter stage, the reign of sensual gratification predominates; individuals and nations appearing often to be so entirely led in chains by allurements of the eye, the ear or palate, that taylors and milliners, fiddlers and orators, cooks and confectioners may be justly denominated their effective rulers. A revolution in manners, or a loss of the respectability due to human nature, is the consequence of such a condition. It is thus that a nation, like an individual, having run a course of splendor and renown, returns to the goal from which it set out,---the rudeness of savage life, contracted from the unjust depression of its essential parts by the hand of tyranny, or the

loss of energies in the exalted parts, arising from devotion to the lowest and basest of the pleasures of sense.

The life and movement of the universe is supported by the action of opposite principles; the order or harmony of the movement is supported by the contention between the parts being equally poised and balanced. The health of the animal body is deranged physically by the action of causes which affect the balances of movement; the good order or harmony of the political arrangement is disturbed in a similar manner by irregular action among the component parts. Different parts stand at different degrees of eminence in the scale of importance in the animal body; but they are all comprehended in the sphere of circulation, and thus all possess a necessary and mutual connexion with each other. If the history of the natural body individually be admitted as a type, illustrative of political arrangement collectively, it follows by a necessary consequence that every individual, in the mass of a people, should be considered as an integral part of the political organ,---the place defined, and the action confined to that station, which is judged to be the proper sphere for the exercise of the respective qualities. This constitutes a harmonious fabric according to original principle; but, as there is a propensity in the constitution of man's nature physically and morally, even in parts, or independent organs simple or compound, to attract or absorb into themselves, that is, to aggrandise their being beyond the bounds or limits of what is fit and useful; and, as this can only be done at the expence of other parts, injury, changes, disorder, tumult, or convulsion are the consequences. A certain proportion of materials can only circulate in organs of defined dimensions; that, which does not circulate in due channels, goes into corruption, and breeds disorder. It is familiar with every one's observation in the facts which relate to man, that the health of the animal

animal body goes on in an uninterrupted tenor, under habits of exercise, temperance and frugal living, that habits of sloth, with full meals of rich foods, are ostensible causes of disease. They swell the fabric prematurely, giving it brilliancy and splendor; but they swell it unequally, producing an early gout; and gout possesses a material which frequently stops the course of life. Justice holds the same relation in preserving the order and economy of society, as temperance holds in preserving the economy of animal health. Justice is the pivot of moral tactic: movements, directed by any other rule, cannot be correct; consequently effect cannot be true or permanent. The transgression of the divine precept, viz. "Do unto others as you would that others do unto you" generates confusion in human affairs, and brings a never failing punishment in its train. The precept, exclusive of the veneration due to its sacred origin, implies deep and intimate knowledge of human nature; for, as it is a principle in the law of organization, that a continuance of inordinate action exhausts and destroys the physical power of organs; so in moral arrangement, the inordinate desire of acquisition, which is literally injustice, swells a nation to undue magnitude, gives power and dominion for a time, but eventually throws a multitude of essential parts out of the channel of circulation. Stagnation necessarily takes place; corruption is the consequence of stagnation. This mass of matter, thrown out of the channel of circulation by the violence and rapidity of movement, dormant and neglected for a while, acquires a new quality; like a bar of iron magnetised by position it assumes power, and effects a revolution in the existing state of things. It is thus, that the materials of the world, and the human part in common with the rest, circulates in an unceasing round in its physical and moral relations. The parts which are degraded, or depressed upon the earth, like the giant Antæus often acquire

power

power and energy by their position; those, which are eminent and blaze in splendor, often consume the radical fund of their virtues, and perish like the butterfly.

The conduct of man, whether individually or in the mass, is influenced or directed by appetites and aversions. There is a general desire of what extends the sphere of action, of what aggrandizes the character and consolidates power; a repugnance of what restrains the expanding power, incroaches upon the natural limits, or depresses below the due level. The desires of man individually, or of nations in the aggregate, cannot always be gratified without encroachment upon the rights of others. The balance of justice is consequently overturned; a domineering power arises, draws every thing into its vortex, and disturbs that order and economy of nature which is necessary to permanence of condition. But, though tyranny digs its own grave, and vice begets its own punishment, according to an established law impressed upon material beings by the Author of the universe; yet, before this process is completed, (for it proceeds by slow and regular steps,) the injured and degraded subject, touched as it were by an electrising influence, frequently assumes a counteraction, and declares open war with the oppressor.

As man seems to possess, in his nature, a desire of prey and propensity towards injustice; and as the divine precept of the Christian religion alluded to above, though not incompatible in execution with the powers of the human character, has not been less regarded in any age than the present, and, is not less regarded in any country, than in those which call themselves Christian, it becomes the duty of people and nations to assume positions of defence;---to be ready to resist violences and to repel the encroachments of force by superior force, in such manner that they may be enabled to preserve that place of independence

dependence in the chain of things, which belongs to all beings of the human race. In this view, preparation for war is not only a duty, but a necessary duty; and, as war is the most arduous and dangerous of duties, so it is esteemed the most generous and honourable. To stand forward in defence of a common country is commendable, though not free from the motive of self interest; to offer the arm, voluntarily and freely, for the defence of those who cannot defend themselves, is great and noble;---the highest action of a human being, and the action, which brings in reward the highest praise.

A VIEW

OF THE

FORMATION, DISCIPLINE, AND ŒCONOMY,

OF

ARMIES.

CHAPTER I.

An Analysis of the Military Qualities of Man, in the Abstract; principally, as resulting from the Operation of physical Causes.

THE selection of persons constitutionally fit for the practice of war, and the instruction, in military discipline, of persons so selected, is an highly important object. It presents a wide field for the exercise of talent; for it undertakes the task of forming, from discordant materials, a fabric or machine, consisting of numerous independent parts or instruments, so arranged and so directed, as to be moved in all its extent by one impulse; and, when so moved, to produce one effect with all its powers of action. It necessarily embraces, in its circle,

Utility and importance of military discipline.

an intimate acquaintance with the radical qualities of the materials; which implies, expressly, a knowledge of every thing which belongs to man—the causes which influence the movements of the mind, or which affect the actions of the body.

Union of action is necessary for the accomplishment of military purposes, whether in attack or in defence: hence the value of tactic, as organizing and concentrating the action of separate parts, upon given points. Man, by nature, is prone to injustice; that is, prone to overstep his bounds and to encroach upon the rights of his fellow creatures. It is thus, that acts of violence are common in all parts, and in all ages of the world; sometimes marked by inundations of barbarians, overwhelming the feeble by brute force; sometimes by bodies of men, termed armies, systematically organised and directed by genius and talent. As the powers of the human mind develope in the progress of society, the military art experiences an early impulse; in the more advanced periods it assumes a scientific garb; and in the present age, it is thought, by many, to have attained the summit of systematic perfection. As the unjust and ambitious sons of men conspire together to extend conquest and establish dominion; the virtuous and the just, if any such exist, are compelled by necessity to unite and organise their force, for the purpose of resisting violence and preserving independence.

A love of independence is a native quality of the human race. When independence is threatened, instinctive wisdom prompts individuals to combine their powers for mutual defence. The law which prompts the combination is instinctive; but in order that the execution of the purpose be effective, it is essential that the selection of the materials be made with judgment; so that the foundations of the organization and discipline, which profess to form a whole of many parts, be laid upon a true

a true knowledge of the nature of the subject, in its intimate relations. The plan is two-fold, viz. appearance, as presumptive of reality; or reality, as proved by trial. The plan, which assumes the principle of arranging the materials of the military fabric according to appearances, or external resemblances only, it is humbly presumed, is fundamentally wrong. The fabric is imposing; for the external is uniform, and uniformity pleases the eye: but though uniform in appearance, the individual parts are not necessarily of one temper, and, if not of one temper internally, they are not acted upon equally by one cause: they consequently separate, or they break to pieces under the shock of rude accidents. The plan, on the contrary, which adapts its arrangements according to measure of actual force, as decided in trials of exertion, rather than in quantity and appearance of animal mass, as striking the eye of the observer, ensures a strong and permanent mechanical connexion in time of movement; for all the parts are here balanced and equally matched by their powers of action. Their capacities are equal; and if, added to this equal capacity, the spring of action, or moving principle, be placed in a grand and forward object, soliciting exertion, and standing prominent in the eye of all, rather than in an aversion from punishment, which is a cause threatening the rear of those who shrink from duty, the movement, animated in its origin, inflamed in its progress, and united by a common sympathy, will be one throughout and irresistible in its effect. If this be true, the useful mode of arrangement regards the mind, and measures the extent and correspondence of the bodily exertion: the fashionable mode looks merely to external appearance; for external appearance and symmetry of form captivate by uniformity, or brilliancy of shew—and these are usually more attractive than reality.

In searching for foundations, upon which to form a system

of military action, the lights, drawn from a knowledge of the structure and laws of the animal body, deserve consideration; for it is demonstratively evident, that a knowledge of the general laws which animal structure obeys, as well as of the extent, to which animal bodies bear, or are capable of bearing the action of foreign causes, is an useful knowledge for those who direct the action of the military machine. Such knowledge is only to be attained by a study of animal structure: and on this ground, some acquaintance with anatomy and the laws of physiology is indispensable for the tactician; for, from these sources it can only be known, correctly, how an animal body acts, and what it is capable of enduring. This is technical; but besides this technical knowledge of the structure of the animal fabric, some knowledge of the history—the revolutions and military actions of nations, as they have appeared on the theatre of the world, is highly necessary to be duly appreciated: it is known from the one source what men may do, it is known from the other, what they have actually done. This comprehends a general acquaintance with principles, as connected with preliminary science: but to this must be added, in order to be master of the subject, a practical experience of war, conducted under a variety of circumstances; for, as it is particularly necessary to guard against the influence of opinions, built upon hypothetical foundations, it is proper, for this reason, that those, who train troops, or give rules for the training of troops, know, by experience, what are the actual effects of changes of climate, of vicissitudes of heat and cold, of the sufferings of hunger and thirst, of rest or idleness, activity or exertion upon the body of man individually; for man individually is the fundamental part of the military instrument, and, as such, his history must be understood in all its parts. It is thus, that actual experience of a soldier's fare and accommodation,

tion, in the various conditions of military service, must have been felt, in order to be estimated correctly; and a man must have eaten of a soldier's bread, and slept under the covering of a soldier's blanket, before he can be competent to speak precisely on the subject of what is the best regimen for a soldier; or to what extent his sufferings may be carried without incurring the chance of injuring his health; that is, without destroying his capacity of preserving an effective place in the military fabric. From the above sources of knowledge and experience, and from these only, a person, who reflects upon the operation of causes and effects, will know precisely what a man may bear and suffer, and what is calculated to improve or to diminish his fitness for the pursuits of war. The knowledge is complex in appearance; but it hangs upon a simple principle.

The prompt application of superior force upon given points decides the fate of battles. The manner of marshalling the means is a part of duty which belongs exclusively to the military officer. It would be deemed presumptuous in a man, who does not wear the military cloth, to offer an opinion upon the subject. Such presumption is not attempted in this place; but, as the materials, composing armies, are common materials, open to the observation of any one and of every one, it will not be thought arrogant to examine them scientifically, and to note their qualities. These are various and heterogeneous; and, as the perfection of military organization and discipline consists in the capacity of bringing a quantity of individual force to bear upon given points, with unity of action, it becomes a principal object of investigation to ascertain the nature or principle of the bond which connects the action in its source, which cements it through all its ramifications, and which conducts it to an operative effect.

An army consists of numerous parts; the parts usually heterogeneous

terogeneous in character. In forming an organized fabric from a mixed mass of materials—a fabric so constructed as to be susceptible of a regular and consistent movement, directed by a common principle to a distinct purpose, the first object relates to an examination and estimation of the value of the materials or independent parts. This subject is comprehended under six different heads.

1. Qualities peculiar to the material, according to class or race.
2. Latitude of climate.
3. Circumstances of soil, and local situations.
4. Age or period of life.
5. The state or stage of society,—pursuits and occupations.

And lastly, properties, abstractedly in the individual, whether corporeal or mental.

SECTION I.

Peculiarities of Quality, according to Class or Race.

Class or Race.

THE whole of the human race, according to sacred writing, sprung originally from one source. The testimony of profane history favours the opinion; for the powers of the human mind first developed themselves in one country. Knowledge and arts appear, incontestibly, to have diverged originally from one centre; but the sceptic may doubt whether or not one origin is common to all men. The classes are now numerous, and the differences are strongly marked in the characters of external form, or in internal impressions stamped upon the mind; whether primary and radical, or the result of the compound effect of climate and moral institution, does not require to be explained

plained in this place; nor is it capable, perhaps, of satisfactory explanation:—it is sufficient to notice the fact.

Man is the same animal wherever man is found. Whether in Europe, in Africa, or in America;—distinguished by difference of countenance, by a different colour of the skin, by peculiarities of configuration, and by numerous subordinate shades of difference in mind, he is still guided by the same general appetites and aversions. A change arises in the appearances of the external form, in consequence of the mixture of different races. The change consists, as might be expected, in a mean between the extremes. This is the outline of the rule; but besides this neutral effect, or change to a mean between extremes, there is frequently an extension of size or stature, an improved elegance of figure, and a symmetry of limbs, more perfect in the mixed class than in the originals. In those races, which preserve their blood free from foreign mixture, the external appearance has comparatively little variety and little brilliancy: and, in spite of the influence of common political causes, the features of the mind retain strong marks of resemblance in all those persons who are of the same cast. It is thus that a Jew is always a Jew, whether in Asia or in Europe. But, if the form of body be intimately connected with blood, or distinctive quality of race, through all variety of countries and conditions; the form of mental character is presumed to be, principally, a product of national institution. This corresponds with observation: and in this manner, it may be easily understood, how the internal institution of the Jews figures the character of the Jewish people, after one mould, notwithstanding the operation of the political laws of the various governments under which these wanderers live.

In regard to effect, the unmixed races of mankind, with less variety of external appearance, perhaps, with less variety of mental

mental pursuit, less fire and animation, have more patience of toil, a firmer attachment to purposes, but a less impetuous impulse in action. This is a physical truth. It finds an explanation in the constitution of an animal body; and it is understood by those who are acquainted with the nature of the causes, which act upon the animal fabric. The rule is fundamentally true; but though fundamentally true, it is liable to be broken in upon by artificial and adventitious circumstances; and it is sometimes so obscured, as to be perceived with difficulty. It is a fact of common observation, that of two men, similar in appearance, one endures toil long, and is firm in his purposes; the other is unsteady, and soon exhausted. The quality, conferring the capacity of endurance, not visible to the eye, seems to depend upon a low degree of irritability of fibre; a character, more peculiar to the pure than to the mixed race, where the meeting of matters of opposite natures, exciting new and lively commotions, manifests a brilliant and splendid effect: but the movement being rapid, beyond the usual law of movement, the material is soon exhausted: the action languishes, in defect of matter, and the exertion is of short duration. This law holds true in man; and it obtains throughout the works of nature—in plants and in brute animals. It is commonly known, that a mixture of fruit trees produces beauty and flavour of fruit. The causes of action are here multiplied, and the movement is enlivened. In animals—in horses, sheep and cattle, the mixture of different races improves the beauty, enlarges the size, and very materially changes the qualities of the breed; but the quality of hardiness, or power of enduring fatigue and resisting the action of irritating causes, is evidently impaired by such mixture. In man, the mixture of different races improves beauty, expands the volume of bodily organs, even gives variety and brilliancy to the

the faculties of the mind; but the same cause, connected with an increase of irritability, diminishes the power of enduring toil, or of resisting the action of foreign causes, or of common causes acting in excess. Action is here sudden, rapid and impetuous: duration is short. This effect, from mixture of race, is more familiarly exemplified in the product of the negroe and white, than in any other; for the extremes are here more remote. The mulattoe, the result of this combination, usually exceeds the originals in elegance and beauty of form. In symmetry and graceful movements the mulattoe may be reckoned among the first of mankind; but the mulattoe is neither hardy nor strong in body; constant nor firm in mind: his advantages are factitious, and not durable.

Application to military purposes.

The above sketch comprehends a rude outline, or boundary of the qualities of the pure and of the mixed races of men, as depending upon bodily constitution, modifying the action of causes upon the animal fibre. The mixture of the races is so modified, as to produce a considerable variety of result. Health, and endurance of toil are connected with the pure race; a ticklish balance of system, favourable to the explosion of disease, with an action rapid and desultory, but soon exhausted, is more peculiar to those who are mixed. From the first, therefore, as soldiers, may be expected endurance of hardships and fatigues, resistance of the action of the causes of disease, a firm determination in purposes, and perseverance in duties. From the other, a more animated action, but a more desultory exertion. As the mixed race possesses more irritability of frame, it has consequently a greater propensity to assume irregular movements from the application of the causes of disease. It has more caprice in mind as well as in body---acting from sense rather than sentiment: hence the proper management, in effective application to military pur-

poses, is nice and difficult; for without an intimate knowledge of its character, it cannot be directed, so as to produce an effective and steady action in the hazards of war.

SECTION II.

Climate.

Climate. THE latitude of climate, in which man is born, and in which he lives, has demonstrably an effect upon physical organization; it even, notwithstanding the controlling influence of moral institution, seems materially to modify intellectual operation. It is thus, that the differences, observable among the nations, which inhabit the immense tract of country, lying between Siberia and Cafraria, are of wide extent. The native inhabitants of the Western continent, though of one race, have, in a similar manner, many subordinate shades of distinction; for there exists not only variety in size and configuration, but a marked difference in intellectual character among the numerous tribes, which dwell or wander between the extremes of Greenland and Patagonia.

Heat. The principle of heat is the most active agent in nature; and vicissitude of heat and cold, by which power is increased or diminished, is the most general and the most obvious cause, which accelerates or retards the developement of physical powers, or mental faculties. The growth or expansion of animal bodies, similarly constituted, is accelerated by heat, retarded by cold. Hence, the inhabitants of hot climates arrive earlier at maturity than those of cold countries; but, though they arrive sooner at maturity, they do not exceed the bounds, not even, perhaps, attain the highest point of perfection of which man's

man's nature is capable. It is noticed as a fact, and the fact may be supposed to be, in a great degree, a consequence of the action of natural causes, that, in climates, where the temperature is uniformly hot, and the atmosphere almost uniformly serene, the mental character and bodily power have uniform similarity of feature. The character of mind has, in such case, less chance of being bold, warlike and varied: the positive strength of body is not necessarily deficient; but the movement is mechanical, pursuing a certain orderly routine, as if influenced by the action of the causes, under which the fabric has been mechanically reared.

The principle of irritability (and irritability seems to be the cause of growth and expansion) is exhausted at an early period, in hot climates, by unceasing action; that is, a progress in growth, without a pause of rest. In frozen regions, on the contrary, where the sun has little power, the vital property or power of expansion may be said, in some manner, to remain dormant. There is here a defect of stimulation, and the inhabitant does not attain eminence, or the highest perfection which the constitution of his frame admits. It is therefore in the middle regions, where there is vicissitude of heat and cold and strife of elements, that the physical and moral powers of man develope with the greatest effect. The fact is familiar, and the explanation of the fact corresponds, in a certain extent, with the operation of a regular physical law; for, as the powers expand and are led to extend their limits while in action; so a material is acquired in rest, necessary for the renewal of exerted movement, and for the consolidation of the acquisition, made in the preceding period of expansion. In hot climates, the progress is more uniform,---without that pause of rest, necessary for the acquisition of the material, which realizes or consolidates expansion. In frozen climates, the material or

Cold.

Vicissitude

fund of growth exists; but the action is torpid, in defect of excitement. Hence, as vicissitude is necessary to carry effect to the proper point of perfection, it is only under such vicissitude, that the highest physical perfection of an animal body is found.---Man differs in appearance, attains maturity earlier, and acquires perfections, in a higher degree, in some climates than in others; but he is fundamentally the same animal in all, and possesses the same common foundations, on which are built his virtues or his vices. Climate, as noticed above, operates materially in bringing forth his perfections, and in rendering his powers more effective in action; but it is to institution, that a pre-eminence of courage and military qualities is principally to be referred: for, though the inhabitant of the middle region, whose physical power rises to the highest perfection in the common business of life, may be expected to attain the greatest eminence in war; yet the favoured region may, and actually does produce instances of all the base and cowardly vices; the least propitious produces, occasionally, heroes of the highest cast.

Institution.

The outline of the rule, which obtains in the organic growth of man individually, is exemplified in the combinations of society, is even extended to nations in their widest range. People and kingdoms have vicissitudes of fortune. No people, and no kingdom, in the annals of the world, has preserved, for any great length of time, a brilliancy constantly active to the extent of exertion. The exalted material becomes vapid after expansion; its hour of splendor passes away, and the animating spirit moves on to illuminate another class or another nation. It is thus, that nothing is stationary or permanent in the physical, or even in the moral world. The body of man changes daily; and the social fabric, constructed with this changeable material, has its periods of rise, progress and decline, subject, after

Society.

after a given rule, to the operation of corresponding causes, in the collective body, as in the individual.

SECTION III.

Locality.

BESIDES the differences, now stated, as attaching to mankind from the distinction of race, the excess or defect of the animating principle of heat, connected with latitude of climate, there are found to exist other varieties or shades of difference and resemblance, according to locality; that is, according to the specific qualities of soil and situation, under the same, or nearly the same, parallels of latitude. The chief divisions relate to atmosphere, as wet or dry; to a soil, fertile or barren; to an aspect of country, champaign, hilly, or mountainous. The effect of these different qualities of air, soil and situation is strongly manifested in the vegetable production; it extends to the brute animal; and the influence is felt even in man. Locality.

In champaign countries, of a rich soil and moist atmosphere, the animal production, whether man or beast, attains the full limits of its natural growth. The human race, in such places, is usually tall and straight in figure; the muscular or fleshy parts large, but frequently flaccid, with a tendency to favour the deposition of fat, which, filling up the interstices between the muscles, even covering their surfaces deeply, robs the countenance of expression of character, and animal movement of dignity and grace. The body possesses force; but it is a brute force, connected with weight; bodily action is not energetic, and mental operation, though correct, is generally slow. Where man Champaign and fertile.

man attains maturity, in this manner, under the action of causes of little comparative variety, the impression or routine of animal movement has necessarily a corresponding uniformity: and, on this ground, though perseverance and steadiness may be expected to be a quality of troops born and bred in low and fertile countries, activity and enterprise do not belong to their nature.

Dry and barren.

The inhabitant of the dry and barren country rarely attains the same volume of carcase, as the inhabitant of the moist and fertile district. He is, usually, inferior in actual force: but he possesses a firmer muscle, more energy and rapidity in bodily action, more vivacity, and more quickness in the operations of mind. His qualities, in war, have a corresponding value.

Hilly or mountainous.

In hilly, or, rather in mountainous countries, the structure of the body is firm, compact and hardy; the mind is bold and steady in its purposes; the ideas are elevated and frequently sublime. Hence, it is to mountaineers, that the prize of the military character must be adjudged; for though they are for the most part inferior in size, and often inferior in positive force to the inhabitants of the plain, they have almost always advantages in active war; for they possess the power of more rapid movement; and are, thus, capable of more promptly applying their force to the just points of attack.

Effect of locality upon character.

The difference, which obtains among the inhabitants of mountains and plains under the same parallels of latitude, does not require to be illustrated by further proof; for it is obvious to the eye of every observer. The nature of the impressions, connected with the modes of life, usually pursued in these different situations, may be supposed to have a share in producing the differences of effect alluded to; but the great and fundamental part, which determines the character, probably arises from the operation of general physical causes. The grandeur,

majesty

majesty and precision of objects, as they present themselves in mountainous countries, make deep impressions on the mind, and necessarily command attention. Cataracts and precipices, the fury of the elements, in storms of wind and rain and thunder, as they strike the imagination forcibly and awfully at the time, so they leave an impression of something sublime, which grows and expands with reflexion, in the calm which succeeds. A new channel is opened for the course of grand ideas: experience is gained of things which are common, and often formidable in war: the judgment is ripened; and the mind acquires confidence, because it has gained knowledge. But, while the mind gains knowledge of useful things, its ideas are elevated to higher regions of conception. Its powers expand in the act of ascending lofty mountains; and its conceptions acquire a magnitude, which corresponds with the command of the eye. If grand impressions be often repeated, lofty ideas are engrafted in the physical constitution, and mental operations assume a cast of what is noble and dignified. While the mind expands in overlooking the extended valley, inspired, at the same time, with a secret sentiment of dominion, it becomes proud, at least free and independent. Its view, on the other hand, confined by a distinct boundary, turns upon itself: the impression is precise: the circle of the valley comprehends the extent of all that interests: all the objects within the valley are objects of interest; and society is, thus, connected, physically, by a strong bond, similar to that which connects the members of a family.

Effect of locality upon physical power.

As elevated ideas arise in the mind from impressions which are peculiar to elevated situations; and as society, compressed, in mountainous countries, by narrow and distinct boundaries, is closely united in its parts; the frequent repetition of grand impressions, upon susceptible organs, implants a physical elevation in the constitution of the frame, a warmth of affection, and a love

a love of country, which stamp the character of virtue. But, as the objects of nature, in mountainous countries, are calculated to form a strong and elevated mind; so the necessary occupations of life, in such places, are calculated to form an active and hardy body. In climbing mountains, and in descending precipices, the limbs and lungs experience an exercise, which contributes to the increase of their powers; the eye learns to judge of distance of place; custom teaches how to manage and husband the strength, and to measure, with precision, the necessary exertion in a given action---a knowledge highly useful in the practice of war. Mountaineers thus appear to possess, constitutionally, a large share of those qualities, which are essential to soldiers; and history bears testimony, in most instances, to the intrepidity, the activity, and the promptness of decision of this class of men, in circumstances of difficulty and danger.

SECTION IV.

Age or Period of Life.

BESIDES the differences, attaching to the bodily powers and intellectual character of man, from difference of race, latitude of climate, and local situation; the age or period of life, at which the individual happens to stand, is intimately connected with a modification of bodily and mental action;---it consequently demands a due consideration in selecting and arranging the materials of armies. In youth, bodily action is rapid and impetuous---not constant, vigorous, nor persevering: the mental operation has a similar character; the desires are ardent—even impetuous; but they fluctuate and change capriciously.

Youth.

ciously. Youth is the period for enterprise, the period, in which the desire of glory captivates and transports; but in which the mind is less firm in its purposes, and where disappointment is not borne with constancy. Hence, young troops, in application to military purposes, must be directed to a precise and distinct object, connected with a prominent glory, practicable by a plain impulse of courage. In mature age, the bodily action is more vigorous, constant and persevering: the mental operations are more determined; as, together with the desire of glory, there also exists a sentiment, dictating the preservation of honor. It is from persons in this period of life, that must be selected that part of an army, which decides the battle by constancy of courage and the grasp of power; for here, while ardor of enterprise, the quality of youth, is not materially impaired, the bodily and mental organs, trained, by habit, to move in the proper channel, support their action with firmness, as an effect of age. In the advanced period of life, ardor of enterprise abates,—even power and vigour decline; but, as tenaciousness is the characteristic of old age, veteran soldiers maintain their acquisitions with obstinacy. Old soldiers thus maintain positions with firmness: they have little active impetuosity; but they have a passive courage, and a command of the faculties which they possess. Courage, in such, is excited by the existence of dangers; difficulties are even necessary to animate their exertions: their proper station is consequently in posts of trust and responsibility; for as old men, they are tenacious of their rights, and as old and honourable soldiers, they are obstinate in the execution of duties, connected with an impression of honour.

Mature age.

Veteran.

SECTION V.

State of Society,—Pursuit and Occupation of Life.

BESIDES the differences of power and character, observable among mankind according to race, climate, local situation and period of life; the state of progress in society, the pursuits and occupations of life among classes or individuals, uniformly influence physical and moral qualities; consequently, affect, in a corresponding degree, the condition of fitness or unfitness for war.

Barbarous. In the early or semibarbarous periods of society, the qualities requisite in war shine forth with the greatest lustre: the mind is then ambitious, ardent in its pursuits, bound firmly to its object by the operation of one sentiment. The sentiment in this stage of society assumes a vigorous growth, as not being marred or distracted by that variety of impression, which is inseparable from the presentations which abound in civilised life. The body is healthy and active, as not being pampered with care, nor enfeebled by indulgence: it is, consequently, capable of enduring fatigues.

Refined. In civilised ages, and in polished societies, where arts flourish, and where avarice and a desire of sensual gratification usurp the place of ambition and desire of manly exercise, the action of mind is but feebly bound to a common object. The mental pursuits diverge into a multitude of channels. The power of body is comparatively weak; or, rather, the bodily structure, rendered delicate and irritable by habits of care and indulgence, revolts from the action of harsh causes, and the hardships of

of an active military life. The fund of courage, in such case, is even diminished; for, among highly polished or luxurious nations, the whole faculties are engrossed with the gratifications of sense or love of pleasure. The heroism of human nature is thus lost; and the mind becomes so morbidly sensible of danger, that an individual, or a nation may be said to be physically coward, as abhorrent from hardships and self-denial; or capriciously courageous, as stimulated to acts of enterprise, by the strong incitements of sensual and selfish gratifications.

Pursuit or occupation.

The human body (which is formed to be acted upon by external causes, and to assume, from the action of these causes, a certain train of movement, which is established into habit by repetition, and, when so established, which is capable of being supported in its routine, for an unusual length of time, with comparatively little toil) acquires, from the pursuits and occupations of life, different degrees of preparation or education, fitting it, generally, for the purposes of war; or, more directly, for a respective place among the organs or subordinate parts of an army.—Of the different pursuits or occupations of man, hunting is that which is most directly preparative of war; but it is only among savage or very barbarous nations, that hunting is the sole or chief occupation of a people; in most of the highly polished nations of Europe, it is an amusement reserved, almost exclusively, for the pleasures of the great. It is thus neither a general nor a common pursuit; but where it is a general pursuit, or where it makes the chief business of life, it may be considered as bringing forth, and eminently improving, some of those qualities, which are serviceable in the practice of war, of which it may be regarded, in some degree, as a primary school. It prepares man for war by confirming courage, or by sharpening address. If the object of the

Hunting.

chace be the destruction of the ferocious and bold animals, the hunter, insensibly, acquires courage, intrepidity, and above all promptness of decision in the instant of danger. If the prey be timid and shy, he acquires address and management; for his faculties are sharpened, and his thinking powers exercised, in contriving the means of accomplishing his purpose. In both cases, he acquires readiness in seizing the most fit opportunities of acting: he is familiarised with the toils and fatigues incident to war: he attains knowledge of ground; and he learns to judge of distance of place; a knowledge useful to the soldier, and highly useful to the officer.—From this class are to be drawn sharp-shooters or riflemen, light or irregular troops.

Pastoral. Herdsmen, whether employed in guarding sheep, horses or cattle, stand in the next degree of fitness for war to hunters, as physically prepared by habits or customs, acquired in the common occupations of life. Herdsmen are familiar with much of what occurs in the service of a campaign, viz. with vicissitudes of heat and cold, and with changes of weather. They are generally accustomed to frugal living, and frugal living is the *sine qua non* of military excellence: they are hardy and inured to bear bodily toil; they are, moreover, furnished with an opportunity of learning, in the observation of their flocks, the general principle which commands obedience. They understand it better than others; for the impressions of fear or confidence, as connected with position, operate on flocks and armies by a similar rule. Shepherds, who become soldiers, know most correctly the qualities of commanding grounds; for the knowledge, derived from observation of the brute animals, applies in the history of the higher classes, animated matter following an uniform law of movement through all its gradations. The pastoral life is thus a school, in which, a man, destined for a common

common soldier, acquires some valuable qualities; and, in which, a man, destined to lead an army, has an opportunity of gaining useful information. It is the primary school of partizan war.

The mere husbandman, field labourer, or rural mechanic, learns little from his occupation, which particularly fits him for military service. But, as the causes or motives of action are ordinarily few in rural life, the routine is often repeated, the impression strong and characteristic gives a firm tone of mind; the body, not being pampered, is healthy; the arm is powerful, as being well practised in the labours of the field: such is the husbandman, as fashioned by his mode of life. He possesses his peculiar quality, which is that of power; and his station, in the composition of an army, is an important one; for it is of husbandmen or field labourers, that the force, which decides the fate of battle, when the question stands on a doubtful balance, is usually composed. Field-labour.

It will not be an easy matter to point out, or to establish an essential primary difference of fitness or unfitness for military service, in the numerous class of artizans, who abound in civilised nations, and, who ordinarily fill up the ranks of armies in times of actual war. Some are more useful than others, from what they have learned to do in their civil occupations; but they are all, at the time of inrolment, nearly on a level, in point of preparation, for a military life. As artizans acquire a ready use of their hands or fingers, in the practice of their civil callings, they learn the manual exercise with great facility; and they perform it with dexterity and correctness: they also assume the military air speedily; they are apt scholars in all the exterior forms; for mechanic movement is familiar to them,—it is the habit of their life. Artizans thus acquire, speedily and correctly, the mechanical action, which captivates Artizan.

by

by uniformity, and which is thought, by most persons, to mark the character of a formed soldier. But artizans, though regular and correct on the parade, are inferior to the other classes in the actual service of the field; whether in intelligence of things similar to those of war,—in bodily strength, in endurance of toil and self-denial, or in mental constancy and firmness. They, however, have their place in the composition of an army; and they most usefully constitute that part of the great machine, which operates destruction, mechanically, by the use of fire arms.

SECTION VI.

Selection of Subject, and Appropriation to Duties, according to a Knowledge and Estimate of individual Qualities.

Principle of selection.

SUCCESS in war, as far as relates to the mechanical soldier, depends upon possession of force, with capacity of prompt application to the just point of attack; consequently, this character must be kept in view in the selection of persons, destined for military service. But, as quantity of force and the power of prompt application are not always proportionally joined in the same subject; it is a matter of some difficulty, as it becomes a matter of great importance, to distinguish the properties of the materials individually, and to estimate them correctly, previous to arrangement; so as to produce a composition of the least possible imperfection, on the day of trial. There are some tacticians, who, in selecting the parts of an army, direct their attention to the qualities of the mind, as well as to the figure and form of the body; others, and by much the greater

greater number, merely regard the quantity of animal force, and form a judgment of force, by signs of external configuration. With one, a knowledge of the preceding life and occupation, under which habits may be supposed to have been formed and principles of action established, obtains a due consideration; with the other, the history of the preceding life commands no attention; for it leads to nothing useful, the quantity and external form of the animal mass being the circumstance chiefly or solely regarded in constructing the military fabric. This last seems to have been the principle of the King of Prussia;—a knowledge of the causes of things, confirmed by a correct estimate of events, proves that it is not the true one.

Man is an animal of imitation; and animal action often repeated, though artificial, even constrained in the origin, grows into habit, and becomes, in some measure, a second nature in the end. In selecting persons for military service, it is therefore reasonable to suppose, that the fittest subjects for soldiers will be those, whose common occupations in civil life have the nearest alliance with the business of war; as selection, for particular purposes or parts of duty from the mass of the army, will be best directed by a presumption of fitness in the original classes, depending on habits acquired in civil occupation—a presumption to be confirmed by actual trial in experience. This subject comprehends variety; for the presentations of an enemy are not always in one form, or after one kind; an army, consequently, must consist of various parts, in order to be able to meet, with effect, the various contingencies of appearance. The Writer is unwilling to overstep his bounds, by encroaching on the province of military men; but, in estimating means, it is necessary to state purposes. The principal points, which relate to the management of a military action, appear to be comprehended under the following heads. 1. A precise knowledge

Selection for purposes.

knowledge of what is to be done, in all its details. This belongs to the General commanding; but information on the subject must often be conveyed to the General through the instruments or subordinate parts of an army: these must be prepared and fitted for their uses. 2. A rapid and skilful occupation of such points or positions, as give the best chance of commanding the objects, which conduce to the success of the design. 3. The employment of mechanical powers, fire-arms or bayonet, with just direction, united force and persevering effect. 4. A retreat from the contest, when the end is unattainable, in a deliberate and correct manner, so as to preserve the organization of the machine unbroken. The necessity of retreat arises from mis-calculation: the effecting of it, in a correct and regular manner, is the last and most difficult office of the soldier.

Rifle. 1. The first part of an army is allotted to feel and ascertain the position of the enemy, to judge of his countenance, and to give information of his manner of presentation. Such part must, necessarily, be active in movement, ready in judging of the qualities of ground, possessed of address, and skilled in the best manners of concealment; for it must approach undiscovered, and retire unhurt. For this purpose, the practice of fowling and hunting gives a preliminary education. The weapon, employed in this warfare, is missile,—preferably the rifle. Troops of this character are not supposed to fight a battle: their use, in war, goes little farther than to cover the front and flanks of armies, in security against surprise; or to clear away the lighter annoyances, which harrass the line or column in advancing to the great field of action.

Light troops. 2. The second object, and a very important one, viz. seizing commanding positions, which, in some manner, possess the power of multiplying force, is allotted to light or irregular troops,

troops, persons, who are capable of moving with celerity over difficult grounds, who are powerful to seize difficult posts, and who are bold to maintain the posts which they seize. Persons previously prepared for this part of war, are found among herdsmen,—a class nearly extinct in Britain, unless in the mountainous parts of the south, and in the north highlands of Scotland,—even there, not in the same perfection as in former times. But wherever such persons are found, they are ordinarily speedy in their course on rugged grounds; and, what is of more consequence, they endure the exertion of running longer than others, without suffering such commotion of frame as paralyzes the offices of the arms and renders the effect of fire uncertain. The most suitable weapon for this class is the light firelock and bayonet; the best mode of drilling consists in the frequent practice of firing with aim, at a mark, in all forms of position; and in traversing irregular grounds, at all variety of paces.

3. When the mode of battle is ascertained, and the commanding positions seized and maintained securely by the light troops, the mass of the army, directed to move on in line or column to the grand attack, commences the great operation of war. Here, strictly speaking, is the mechanical part of the task; for here the fate of the question rests on the effect of fire arms. The advantage, in this contest, follows a superiority in rapidity, precision, and just direction of fire. The execution will, perhaps, be committed, with the best chance of success, to the part of the army composed of artizans; for such attain a speedier and more perfect dexterity and precision in manual operation than others. When the mechanical power of fire arms fails in effecting its object, another part of the instrument is called into action, intended to bear down every resistance by superiority of physical force. This part of the army requires power,—above all, courage and valour. It moves by one impulse,

Battalion.

Grenadiers.

pulse, and it possesses only one sentiment. Victory or Death being its motto, it knows no retrograde movement. The class of field labourers and countrymen furnish such force in greatest perfection; for, there, the arm is usually powerful and the mind firm.

Provision for a retreat.

4. In forming an army, and in arranging the different parts of which it consists, no provision is expressly made for a force, calculated to cover a retreat. Victory only is in the view of military men. Yet the necessity of retreat sometimes occurs; and when it does occur, it is well to know the description of troops, which can best be depended upon to meet the contingency. It is not to be expected that new troops, who are taught to look forward to victory only, can be trusted to protect the dispositions of a retrograde movement. The object here varies and changes, and if young troops lose the prominent object, which is an object of attack—not defence, they are embarrassed; if they waver, they are lost; and if they turn the foot, they are most probably routed. It is owing to discipline that the retreat of an army is conducted without confusion,—probably without total rout; and it is to experienced troops that the management of such a contingency must be committed. Besides the confidence, which belongs to men experienced in war, there is, perhaps, something connected with an advanced period of life, which diminishes the disposition to panic so common with young soldiers, when their object is obscured or lost. Old men have less constitutional irritability than young ones, and more passive courage; they have a more correct experience; and they know, by experience, that an enemy is most formidable to those who run away. They are, on these accounts, the best qualified to support an army under a disaster or retreat. Grenadiers cannot retreat from an action where they are principals:—they may, consistently with their character, cover the retreat of others.

others. Light troops are not bound to the field by so rigid a law; for, as light troops they have the privilege of retiring, without the confession of a defeat.

An army, composed of different parts, according to the suggestions here proposed, is furnished with the means of ascertaining the positions, and of estimating the presentations of an enemy, of attacking him with adequate means of offence, or of resisting his attacks with effect. The whole conspires in one purpose; for, though an army consists of many parts, it is only one instrument, constructed for the accomplishment of one design. It is obvious, that it is a matter of consequence to select the parts of which it consists, from the different classes of society, according to their relative degrees of fitness to produce one uniform effect in action, without primary regard to external appearance; for, as it is from the effect of joint action in the field, not from the beautiful *coup d'œil* of a parade, that the military fame of a nation finds an honourable place in the page of history, it is common sense, that correspondence of action, rather than uniformity of appearance, should be regarded as regulating the rule of arrangement. Rule of arrangement.

The qualities, supposed to be engrafted on animal action, by habits of education or manner of life, are evidently of considerable importance, in determining generals in the choice of soldiers, and in directing them to allot the several duties in the field of action. The quality of the individual, as depending upon the physical organization, is also of importance; and it requires to be considered at some length. Great strength belongs to, or is thought to belong to great bulk of body; and where man is opposed directly to man, it is reasonable to suppose, that the greater power will prevail over the lesser; but in the wars of the present time, where the fate of battles is so often decided by the effect of fire arms, to which the hand of a Size.

man of six feet gives not more power than the hand of one of five, it is not easy to see the reason of the rule, which seems so generally to influence the choice. It is admitted, that a line or column of troops, presenting a solid and bulky mass in motion, is connected with an idea of great power and great execution; in consequence of which the timid mind is struck with panic, and the fate of a battle is decided without fair trial. Such event sometimes happens; but it does not happen by a fixed rule, and it cannot be calculated upon, as a just foundation for success in war. The disadvantages on the other hand, connected with a ponderous and slow moving mass, are great and positive,—more than counterbalancing the effect of a chance panic on the imagination of those who are inexperienced. It is clear, that a line or column of men of unusual size presents an object of proportionally great volume to the fire of an enemy: It moves, for the most part, with little celerity; it may, consequently, be expected to suffer proportionally a great destruction before it reaches the point of attack. This disadvantage is obvious, and subject to calculation in the eye of military men; but besides this disadvantage, so clearly demonstrable, persons, who view attentively the effects of actual service in armies, know that men of large size are ordinarily the first who fail under fatigues:—they suffer, from disease, in the greatest proportion. This is unquestionably true; consequently, it will not be pretended, that, men of unusual size and great power are the best soldiers for ordinary service. The Athletæ of Greece were not good soldiers, though they were capable of great feats of strength; and every officer of experience and observation, in the present time, knows, that whatever can be expected from activity and power, (and these qualities ought to be united in the person of the soldier,) is oftenest found in men of moderate size and middle stature.

A standard

A standard of height is fixed, by regulation, for persons admitted into the army. Besides height, the appearances and symmetry of the figure influence opinion, and determine preferences in the choice of soldiers. The eye is attracted by beauty and elegance of form; hence judgement is liable to be biassed by the charms of a graceful shape. Appearances are here deceptive; for the graceful shape and the form of perfect symmetry, are seldom connected with power, activity, and that fund of endurance, which supports toils and fatigues, with constancy and firmness. On the contrary, it is usually observed, that cross made persons, distinguished by large and prominent joints, possess great powers of action. The observation is true, and the truth of it is supported by good reasons; for such a form of body furnishes an advantageous lever for the action of the muscles. On this ground, such persons are patient of toil; for movement is effected with comparatively little effort. Hence, instead of grace, elegance, symmetry of form, a blooming colour and delicate texture of skin; large joints, prominent bones, swelling muscles, rough and elastic integuments are real military properties of the man, and may be considered as the surest marks of subjects, who are calculated to prove effective soldiers under the fatigues of war. The idea of beauty is relative to condition of subject; and, in this manner, the beauty of the military figure must be judged by its own rule. An aspect, penetrating, bold, and determined; a movement powerful and vigorous, grand and energetic, rather than correct and graceful, are the characters which are more peculiarly attractive in the soldier. Form.

But, whatever be admitted to be the just height of stature and contour of figure, an examination of the condition of the general health, and of the effective action of the limbs of the individual, forms an important subject of investigation, with those Particular qualities—obvious.

those who select and arrange materials for the formation of armies. It is customary, in order to attain the necessary knowledge on this subject, to institute an examination by professional men, who, from their professional knowledge and military experience, are supposed to be capable of forming an accurate opinion on the state of the health of recruits, and of the capacity which they possess for enduring the fatigues incident to active war. The examination is strictly medical; but among the points to be ascertained, and which persons not of the medical profession may fully comprehend, the following may be considered as the principal. Whether or not, the soldier is actually well placed, or capable of being well placed upon his haunches; whether he possesses the natural and full power of all his limbs, with the free and perfect motion of all his joints; whether or not, any weaknesses remain from sprains of the joints, particularly of the knees; whether or not, there exist any impediments from hurts, fracture of bones, or other causes. The condition and form of the chest attract particular notice. The form of a soldier's chest is connected with military appearance, when a soldier is under arms: it is further connected, relatively, with capacity of exertion in the trials of service. A full and muscular chest is often connected with a powerful arm; it is therefore desirable, even requisite, that the chest of a soldier be full and open, that the functions of the lungs be perfect,—the respiration free and unconfined, in all postures and changes of attitude. The eye is a precious part of the human fabric: while free from disease, in its substance and in its appendages, the perfection of its functions are of high importance, in the performance of a soldier's duty; the vision ought to be clear and strong, —not defective in the darkness of night: the sense of hearing ought also to be acute: the speech free and without hesitation: the teeth sound: the glands and parts about the throat, healthy,

without

without actual disease, disposition to disease, or marks of the ravages of disease: the belly compressed. The existence of actual rupture is proscribed in the examination of recruits; but no discoverable disposition towards it ought to be passed unnoticed: there must be no defect, and no cause about the secret parts, likely to prove an impediment upon service. Ring-worm, scald head, and other loathsome deformities, should be banished from armies; for it is improper that any one be admitted into the line with a constitutional blemish. Military duties are all connected with movements; the feet and legs are consequently essential parts of the soldier's body. Their power and condition, for this reason, demand a nice scrutiny. Besides the form of the leg, the efficiency of which is chiefly marked by a firm calf and sinewy ancle, the integument must not only be unbroken; but there ought to be great circumspection in admitting, into the army, such persons as have the marks of former sores. The skin of the legs, while thin and elastic in general, ought to be free from large veins and signs of congestion. The toes of the feet must not croud upon each other, nor rise up in the middle, so as to favour the production of corns: the nails of the great toes must not grow in such form, as to be likely to penetrate into the flesh,—an occurrence not uncommon, and which, occurring, occasions the most serious inconvenience.

The above are visible impediments: they impair action, and, on many occasions, impede the performance of military duties; but besides these external blemishes, the effects of which are calculable, there are other points in the health of persons, destined for military service, which, as they are not always visible or obvious by their outward appearances, require a considerable degree of professional discernment, in order to be ascertained and properly estimated. Among these may be reckoned a disposition

Defects—not obvious to common observation.

position to scrophula, without the declared marks of the disease; a disposition to consumption of the lungs, necessary to be known, but not, in all cases, easy to be discovered; catarrhal defluxions, which are apt to terminate in consumptions; obstructions of the lungs, adhesions of their membranes, asthma, &c. prominent stomach, or pot belly,—often connected with weakness; indigestions; mysenteric obstructions; hœmorrhoids; disposition to dropsy; obstructions or disorders in the urinary passages, whether constitutional or the effects of dissease; and lastly, epileptic fits,—a malady expressly forbidden, in most services, to be admitted into the army.

Selection by trial.

Many of the causes, which impede the performance of animal functions, are visible to the eye, and may be estimated to their full extent, a priori; others only discover themselves upon trials of great exertion. As it is only from uniformity in power of exertion, that union of action can be ensured; and, as this is the essential point which commands success in war, a standard for the measure of the powers of exertion among recruits, is, in sound reason, not less necessary, than a standard for the measure of the height of stature. In order to ascertain this essential point of knowledge, it would be proper that every person, entering into the army, be brought to trial in walking, in running, in leaping, in jumping, in climbing hills, and in traversing irregular and broken grounds; for it may be fairly admitted, that a full grown person, who is not capable of marching in an exerted pace, at the rate of four miles in the hour with firelock and knapsack, is not eligible for a soldier, destined for active service. If his wind fails in walking briskly up hill, or if his joints be weak, so that he does not move with speed and safety over broken grounds, it would be unwise to admit him upon the lists of an active army; for the failure of the powers of individuals on a campaign, or, in the day of battle, by destroying union

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of action, on which success depends, often defeats the success of plans, which are radically well designed. Hence it happens, and it is no rare occurrence, that serious misfortunes arise from small, or apparently trifling causes.

Estimate of spirit or mind.

Besides all that can be learned from a medical examination of the health, and an actual trial of bodily powers of exertion, in order to determine the value of subjects destined for military service; the quality of mind or spirit, which animates the individual, deserves a paramount consideration. The qualities of mind are various; but those most material, in military service, are enterprise and intelligence, intrepidity and perseverance. It does not often happen that the same person possesses the whole in equal perfection. The two first are more frequently found in persons of low or middle size; the two latter in men of large bulk and lofty stature,—confident in themselves, perhaps, in the conscious possession of superior power, or torpid from a quality of physical constitution. The subject is curious. There seems, in fact, to be something of a general outline of mind, connected with bodily appearance; but the material part of that which constitutes its character, arises from impressions or configurations, which, though they exist in organic forms, are not explicable according to fixed laws, in the present imperfect state of physiological knowledge. The spirit speaks: its expressions are felt and understood; but they cannot be described; so that the higher progress, which is to be made in arranging the materials of armies on this ground, must proceed from the immediate source,—the actual observation of the material itself; as the extent of perfection acquired must be measured by the capacity, which the individuals, making such scrutiny, possess, in reading characters which are obscurely written.

Conclusion.

The foundations, and even some perfection of military qua-

lities, as belonging to man individually, result from the peculiar properties of class or race, from operation of climate, age, or period of life, from habits, accidentally acquired, as a product of pursuit or occupation, and from configurations of animal structure. These qualities rise to a certain degree of perfection as physical properties, according to causes of accidental improvement; but the foundations, which are thus laid by accident, are capable of being carried to a high state of perfection by formal institution,—military or political. They are improved by culture; they are impaired by neglect; or overturned by the operation of institution or modes of life, which engender habits contrary to those which correspond with the practice of war. The greater number of nations have their own peculiar characters and propensities, resulting from a tacit or open institution, engendering a moral habit. The Spartans, Romans and Swiss are among the people whose institutions were the most systematic, and the most directly military. Every Spartan, a soldier by necessity, was rendered a hero by institution. Sparta continued for ages, and perhaps still continues, to produce the same physical forms of human organism, as in the time of Leonidas; but the military and moral institution being neglected or corrupted, the character, stamped by the institution, is no longer found in the Spartan territory. The Roman nation was fierce and warlike in the early periods of the republic. The days were occupied in the practice of military exercises; and the whole energies of the people were turned into a military channel. Conquest, riches, arts, and luxury, undermined the military character; and the eminence of physical qualities rendered the Romans of later times,—eminent only in vice. The Swiss are nationally warlike. Every Swiss is a soldier by profession, as by inclination. The military institution raised this people to eminence in its own estimation. The Swiss were proud

proud as soldiers; for they were independent as a nation; and their independence was the fruit of their military prowess. They are now changed: they may still retain mechanical perfection in the use of arms; but they have lost the opinion of their own independence. National pride and moral institution are not likely to exist among the Swiss, as dependents on a foreign sovereign; and, though still natives of the Alps, it is not to be expected, that they will now be the same in the field of battle, as the Swiss of the age of Francis the First.

CHAPTER II.

Sketch of the military Character of the European Nations most distinguished in History.

Revolution among nations.

IT has been shewn, in the preceding pages, that the military character of man is formed and fashioned by the operation of a variety of physical causes. It is also influenced and animated by the efficiency, controlled or subverted by the neglect, of moral institution. The character of nations changes: human affairs never cease to fluctuate; the tide of brilliancy and grandeur seeming to move periodically from one part of the globe to another, as if connected with the operation of a physical law. The mind of man expands; the character developes—power advancing progressively to a given point of greatness. It again declines and contracts, if not to a state of primitive ignorance and rudeness, at least to a state of comparative depression,—or, retaining force, it changes form, and assumes a feature of depravity. The body becomes infirm, the moral character base and contemptible, or mischievous and vicious.

To trace the character of people and nations in its rise and progress, to mark its movement, during the state of elevation, and to note the causes of decline, and the degrees of depression to which it sinks, is directly in the province of the philosopher and historian. The subject implies a research and labour, not consistent with the design of this work, and not within the reach

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of the Author's means. But, though circumstances do not permit a full detail in this place, it may still be proper, as illustrative of the purpose, to sketch the general principle, the operation of which has exalted one nation above another, in military pre-eminence, and maintained it, when so exalted, in power and splendor for a given time. There is uniformity in the procedure throughout; for there is uniformly exhibited a chain, or series of similar motives and similar effects—from the most rude traces of savage life to the pinnacle of grandeur and refinement; and from the pinnacle of grandeur and refinement to the lowest point of degeneracy and debasement.

Savage state.

In this attempt, towards an analysis of the military history of nations, the records of Greece mark the outmost boundary of the research; for, unless in sacred writing, there is not any thing concerning mankind, in the earliest periods of the world, which can be deemed authentic.---In the purely savage state, the desires of the animal are confined to the physical wants of nature:---without ambition of conquest, even without foresight to secure provision for a future time, he eats when he is hungry, and sleeps when he has done eating. Life seems to be merely animal in its first operations; but while the savage and uncultivated subject, furnished with capacities, but without ideas, roams over the surface of the earth, (in whatever cause such migration may originate), the senses are impressed by new objects, and new desires arise from new impressions upon the senses. The desire of extending power, connected with acquisition, marks the first operation of an expanding mind. The savage, so constituted, traverses the globe, singly or in hordes: he seizes what he wills;---if unoccupied, without apparent injustice; if occupied, in violation of the rights of others; for he has not yet learned the laws which relate to property. The history of the present race of men goes no farther than to a history of such

Evolutions of powers.

such migrations and violences. The case is simple and uniform, the history of conquest and colonization pourtraying a similar principle, in all ages, from the early periods of the piratical invasions of Greece, to the modern settlements of the buccaneers in America. In all times, the weak and widely dispersed savage, or the depressed and degraded population of great and luxurious empires, is thrust out, or enslaved, by the barbarous, energetic and warlike invader; who, becoming rich, luxurious and debased in mind, submits, in his turn, to a similar fate. This is the usual routine in the revolutions of empires and states: But it also happens sometimes, that the good and virtuous are overturned in their course of virtue,---forced to yield their independence, and submit their fate to systematic plans of conquest, instigated by ambition or avarice, and effected by a combination of disproportionate means of force.

SECTION I.

Spartan.

Institution. THE Spartan state furnishes a striking example of the value of military institution, in raising a people to eminence, and in maintaining it in respect. The history of Sparta is particularly interesting to a nation, which cherishes independence, and which values justice and virtue more than wealth and power. The Spartan institution was calculated to render Spartan soldiers invincible in the defence of their country; for it made them virtuous and brave. It rendered Spartan citizens happy; for it precluded the vexation and ruin, which uniformly arise from ambition and avarice. Justice was the principle of the Spartan government in all its relations with foreign states; and

Justice.

Sparta,

Sparta, in this manner, became the arbiter of Greece. But though the Spartan institution disavowed conquest; and the Spartan state, till alarmed by the growing power of Athens, was averse to war, acting with rigid justice to those who claimed the rights of Greek nations; yet her justice was a political, not a radical justice; for she acted wickedly, ungenerously, and ungratefully to the human race, destroying the Helots, on whom she had called for aid in her distress, and who, actually, had contributed to save her existence. It was here that the rigor of institution,---the desire of preserving Spartan blood unmixed, triumphed over justice, faith, and gratitude.

The leading object in the Spartan institution was directed to insure obedience to the laws,---laws, which were equal and just to all Spartans, inculcating, with the force of passion, love of country, sense of honor, and the paramount sentiment, that the performance of a duty is preferable to the preservation of life. Such institution comprehends the basis of military discipline. No system was ever better contrived for a military purpose; and no one was ever so well executed:---every thing tended to give strength to the character, and to form the military habit into a second nature. The Spartan œconomy was correct. Temperance, even frugality, made an essential part of the institution; and, whether or not intended by the original founder, the quality of the meals, and the measure of the diet were judiciously contrived to improve, physically, the stoic firmness and heroism of courage, characteristic of the Spartan soldier. The rigor of the institution was extreme. It rendered the Spartan proud in virtue, and independent in mind; for riches were useless, luxury was interdicted, and effeminacy brought disgrace. The whole of the Spartan state was radically a military school; but it was not a school, merely, for the practice of arms: it was a school, in which were taught lessons of tempe-

Patriotism.

Temperance.

temperance, and in which were shewn examples of military virtues. The Spartan state was venerable, inasmuch as it was virtuous and just; it was invincible, inasmuch as its soldiers were brave,---even to death. The Spartans were great; but it was not through the rigor of mechanical discipline, which builds its force on the practical knowledge of the use of arms, that the Spartans attained this eminence. It was the moral discipline, implanted in the materials of the Spartan army with the rudiments of primary education, which gave force to its military character;---it is this which alone stands trial in the serious conflicts of war. The sacred duty, of defending the native soil,---the resting place of the dead, and the nurse of the helpless infant, was the first motto of the Spartan soldier. This was strong and pure in the beginning; but the spoils, obtained in war, introduced a leaven, which fermented and corrupted the military virtues: the Spartan became the slave of gold, and followed the fate of other nations.

SECTION II.

Macedonian.

Systematic tactic.

THE Spartan institution was---ostensibly intended, and principally calculated, to form and perfect an army for defence. The Macedonian King, Philip, aimed at conquest, and formed a system of tactic, which, while it was new and striking in appearance, was so constructed in arrangement, as to concentrate a force, which, moved by a proper impulse, produced an action, not to be withstood by common means of resistance. The Macedonians, the component parts of this fabric, appear, at all times, to have been a warlike people,—fierce in character, and barba-

barbarous in manners. In the time of Philip, they were in the semi-barbarous stage of society,---the body healthy and vigorous, the mind ambitious and ardent in its pursuits. Philip himself was a man of genius,---a philosopher, as well as a soldier and a king. He possessed extensive views of politics and war; and subdued Greece by political intrigues, not less than by force of arms. He divided his enemies, that is, weakened resistances by address; and having formed troops, upon a system of tactic, comprehensive in design, and capable of forcible application in execution, he so directed the action, as to ensure success in his battles. The phalanx appears to have been impenetrable;---firm as a mass of rock, while it acted on ground, where it was permitted to preserve the mechanical position of its parts; while it moved with all its parts in union, the movement was irresistible as a torrent from the mountain. The component parts of this instrument,---the soldiers of Philip, who were afterwards the soldiers of Alexander, are known to have been expert individually in the use of arms: they were exercised in evolution, and as such capable of acting with union, in movements of great combination. Philip was the first great systematic tactician; his soldiers may be considered as the first fair specimen of mechanical troops; they were selected and arranged with judgment; and they seem to have been trained for war, with one leading object always in view. With a general motive of resentment, artfully inflamed against the invaders of Greece; but with no personal resentment against their immediate enemies in the field, they may be supposed to have been led into action, under nearly the same impressions as the mass of modern soldiers. To inculcate obedience was the object of Philip's discipline; to concentrate effect was the aim of his tactic; and to kill the enemy, for the sake of his spoils, appears to have been the motive,

Phalanx.

Mechanical soldiers.

which principally operated a forward movement with his soldiers. The desire of spoils seems to have been the motive of action; but as the foundations of this motive are not general and solid, the operation could not be expected to be consistent and permanent. The desire of spoil may be satiated, or the acquisition connected with too much risk or trouble. In such case, the effect of discipline will be weak; or void, in want of an object which stimulates or interests the mass:—discipline directs and regulates, it is passion or desire which moves the machine. It was thus that Alexander's soldiers became weary of war, and desirous of returning to Greece. They ceased to be active, individually, in their forward movements; for, after the fall of the Persian empire, they were no longer influenced by a common object, urging the accomplishment of a prominent purpose. They were even satiated with spoils. The innate bond, which unites the mind in war, was weakened: the artificial impulse from discipline lost its force; in so much, that the authority of Alexander, with all the impression arising from his pretended divinity, had difficulty in preventing disorganization.

SECTION III.

Roman.

THE hinge of the Macedonian tactic turned, principally, upon union or concentration of force. It was formed, systematically, as a whole, to act upon a mechanical principle. The Roman discipline had not the same systematic view in its foundations. It was the discipline and practice of a people, rather than the systematic ordinance of a king; the action was, consequently, more varied and diffused; the use of arms

was

was cultivated individually; and success was calculated, as corresponding with perfection in skill, and pre-eminence in courage. Man fought here more directly with man: hence, besides the power of just direction and union of general force, which, strictly speaking, belongs to tactic; a powerful arm and a dexterous use of weapons were requisite qualities of the soldier individually,—cultivated and improved diligently in the Roman armies, by a rigorous system of discipline.

Exercise of arms.

It is universally known, that the Roman nation rose from obscure beginnings, to a great height of elevation, and preserved a superiority of rank, for a long time, over the rest of mankind. The tactic of Philip was new, and as such commanded success. The conquests of Alexander were brilliant; but Alexander was a meteor, which passed away quickly. The form of the tactic remained; the impulse, which gave energy and force to action, was lost or divided, and the art, under this form, made no progress.---It arose at once in all its splendor: the Roman discipline, on the contrary, as a congenial discipline, rude in its beginnings, but practised by a whole people, advanced in gradual improvement. As the improvement depended upon many individuals, alike ardent in the pursuit of military glory, the movement was animated,---the perfection attained was eminent. A knowledge in the use of arms was assiduously cultivated; and, in proportion to advancement in the practical art, the boundaries of Rome were extended, empire arose, spread out regularly and progressively, and continued to flourish beyond the usual duration of empires.

Difference from Macedonian.

Romulus, the first of the Roman name, with an associated band of robbers, laid the foundations of Rome, as a place of security; or, as a strong hold for the reception of plunder. From such beginnings, the city increased regularly; and its empire swelled out to such extent, as to embrace and command the

greatest part of the known world. A spirit of independence and ambition was manifest in the first association of this warlike band: a systematic plan of conquest and dominion was not, perhaps, conceived at an early period. The founders of Rome were warlike in their origin; their successors appear to have been eminently wise in their political institutions. They incorporated into the mass, at least admitted to a limited participation of rights and honors, such nations as submitted to their arms, or as sued for their protection. By intermixing conquerors with the conquered, and agglutinating them into one mass, they held the whole in subjection by a firm bond.

The companions of Romulus, at the time when Rome was founded, appear to have been in the early or barbarous stage of society,—the mind strong in its conceptions, the body healthy and powerful in its action. The first notices of this people shew that they were select spirits---with ardent passion, a manly and warlike character, a political mind of vast vigor, and of great powers of expansion. As there could not, from the nature of the association, be a feeble or effeminate person in the original band, the offspring, seeing an example of nothing but what was bold, independent, and even fierce, may be supposed to have grown up with warlike sentiments. The bodily organism was sound, as proceeding from a healthy stock; the mind strong, as not being distracted by artificial appetites; the desire of war was in a manner innate, or planted at birth; it was the occupation of the fathers; it grew up, and was strengthened, by domestic education, in the bosom of the sons; it was improved politically, by a system of military discipline adapted to the youth; and it was confirmed, at an early period, by actual practice in the field. A Roman soldier, who was also a Roman citizen, was thus proud in spirit, important in character, eager in the pursuit of glory, nationally and individually.

He

He possessed a martial spirit as an inheritance; his body was inured, by practice in a course of exercises, to bear, with impunity, the fatigues that are incident to war; he spent his time in the daily use of arms; the skill so acquired, directed by the rules of tactic, gave him success in war, subject to an almost certain calculation.

The Romans, so constituted and so disciplined, triumphed over numerous nations, or suffered but temporary reverses; the mind was naturally stimulated to enterprise by a desire of glory, or a thirst of dominion; superior dexterity in the use of arms, aided by superior knowledge in the rules of tactic, ensured victory; or native pride, and dignity of character supported courage, under untoward accidents. This military character, constitutionally heroic, was singularly fierce and determined at one period of the Roman history. It is exemplified in the person of Brutius,* who may be considered as the model of

* Brutius ingenti miserandæ cædis acervo,
Non æquum ostentans confosso corpore Martem,
Extulerat vix triste caput, truncos trahebat
Per stragem, nervis interlabantibus, artus;
Tenuis opum, non patre nitens, linguave; sed asper
Ense, nec a Volsca quisquum vir gente redemit
Plus ævi, nec magnanima puer addere sese
Pubescente gena castris aptârat, et acrior
Flaminis spectatus erat, cum Celtica victor
Obrueret bello divis melioribus arma.
Inde honor, ac sacræ custodia Marte ab omni
Alitis: hinc causam nutrivit gloria leti,
Namque, necis certus, captæ prohibere nequiret
Cum pœnos aquilæ, postquam subsidere fata
Videret, et magna pugnam inclinare ruina,
Occulere interdum et terra mandare parabat,
Sed subitis victus telis, labentia membra
Prostravit super, atque injecta mole tegebat.
Verum ubi lux nocte e Stygia miseroque sopore
Reddita,

of a grenadier soldier. But this character, so fierce and so determined, was undermined by common causes; and the Roman empire, firmly as its foundations seem to have been placed, submitted at last to the common revolutions incident to nations,—following the beaten track of movement in the associations of the human race. Superiority of power, military skill and energy were causes of conquest; conquest brought riches; riches luxury; luxury excess; excess weakness, both of mind and body. In the midst of this degeneracy, the troops continued to practise the use of arms, and to parade in the evolutions of tactic; but the spirit of the soldier was lost; the love of country, the sentiment of pride and honor, which conducted him to a prominent object of glory, was no longer found. Ambition and love of glory were the causes of the rise of the Roman republic; avarice and sensuality were causes of its decay. It is thus, that warlike virtues give dominion; moral virtues only support empires.

Causes of decline.

Reddita, vicini de strage cadaveris hasta
Erigitur, soloque vigens conamine, late
Stagnantem cæde et facilem discedere terram
Ense fodit; clausamque aquilæ infelicis adorans
Effigiem, palmis languentibus æquat arenis.
Supremus fessi tenues tum cessit in auras
Halitus, et magnam misit sub Tartara mentem.

Silii Italici. *Lib.* v. *Lin.* 41.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

Gothic.

THE Roman empire, having risen to a high point of elevation, began to decline. It declined, revived, declined again, and fell totally to pieces at last, more from its own weakness, or want of virtue, than from the extraordinary efforts of the enemy; for though the enemy was numerous and brave, he was defective in military science, and in many of those arts on which nations are apt to build their security. The Romans, on the contrary, still possessed a form of discipline, and persevered in practising the use of arms; but they had lost interest in the Commonwealth, and they had lost the sentiment of moral virtue. The Roman citizens, once so noble and independent, were now rich, luxurious, effeminate---animals of sense and votaries of pleasure. Their fate was a common fate. The rude barbarian of a warlike character, with a hardy body and daring mind, triumphed over a rich, effeminate and enervated race, in spite of their aids from the sciences and from arts.

It is not easy to appreciate the real character of the conquerors of the Roman empire; for it cannot be supposed to be fairly drawn. It will not however be denied, that they were (Huns, Goths or Vandals) bold and brave. They were numerous; they spread wide, and, like a torrent, overturned the feeble in their course.---The motives of action in armies differ according to relative conditions. In this case, besides the motive common to soldiers, viz. hopes of the spoils of the field, the invaders of the Roman empire made a property of the soil;

Causes of success.

soil; consequently, they fought, not merely to gain a victory, but to obtain an inheritance. Their success was complete; and it was facilitated by the disjointed and unharmonious state of the social compact. The Roman army was mercenary; the mass of the people was sunk to a state of slavery,---held in little higher estimation than cattle, and slaughtered with as little remorse.

SECTION V.

Saracen.

THE seventh century witnessed a new form of warfare; or rather a new impulse given to the means of war by the operation of a new principle,—the influence of religious phrenzy.

Fanaticism.

The religion of Mahomed is an imposition; but, whether Mahomed was an impostor professedly, or a fanatic, who deceived himself before he deceived others, is not so easily determined. He imposed a new creed upon the weak and credulous; but born, as he was, with a warm and enthusiastic imagination, recluse and abstracted from society (for he spent a great part of his time in retirement), it is not improbable that he only taught those things concerning Heaven, which a deluded imagination led him to believe. Such delusions are not rare in the world; and they are less rare in Syria, where Mahomed had travelled, and where he appears to have gathered a part of his religious doctrines, than in most other countries.—But be that as it may, the doctrines of islamism, while they electrised the human mind, become torpid, as if in the decrepitude of old age, imparted collaterally a new impulse to war, and bound the movements

ments of armies to a leading object, by a tie, till then, almost unknown. The spoils of the enemy were here, as in other cases, a motive for the forward action of the soldiery; but the mind was farther incited to enterprise, and sanctioned in perseverance, by a motive higher than human, viz. the supposed will of the Deity. The supposed will of Heaven, as an impulse to human action, though in reality a blasphemy, was powerful in its operation, and the effect corresponded with the impulse. Religion was propagated by the sword; and the sword, supported by religion, operated forcibly and rapidly,—like a torrent levelling all resistance. The Arab tribes, the instruments in this grand revolution, are people of a decided character. They had, from the earliest times, been celebrated for their love of liberty and independence. They are brave to a proverb; and they have cause to be proud, for they foiled the Roman arms when Rome was in the height of her glory. Their courage is the most undaunted; and their generosity and hospitality are equal to their courage: but, with all these good qualities, they are held in the light of robbers by the world; for they are at war with all the world, and all men, even the most civilised, are robbers of those with whom they are at war. The power of this people rose from small beginnings. It spread rapidly and extensively.---In an estimate of military qualities, the Saracen seemed to be eminent for a dexterous use of arms, an impetuous courage, and an obstinate bravery, where the object was precisely defined. He followed the common rule in war, weakening resistance by distant annoyance, and charging with impetuosity, when he had ascertained the point of attack. He thus advanced with fury; and he rioted in slaughter, at close quarters.---The Saracen conquered by force, and consolidated his conquests by the propagation of his faith.

Bravery of Arabs.

Mode of war.

SECTION VI.

Crusade.

THE conquests of the Saracens, joined to the oppressions of pilgrims and Christian inhabitants in the Holy Land, raised a great sensation in Europe in the eleventh century. The Pope preached a crusade; the cause of the oppressed engaged the sympathies of human nature; the harangues of Peter, the Hermit, inflamed the courage of the zealous; the mass of the people burned with ardour, and the authority of religion sanctioned the most extravagant undertakings. The motive of the holy war, ostensibly holding out an offer of succour to the oppressed, is a generous motive; and, however the scene might be disfigured by irregularities, by excesses, and even by crimes, there, notwithstanding, was manifested, on many occasions, a display of noble sentiments, as there were every-where seen examples of heroic deeds. It must not, however, be assumed, that the motive was every-where generous and pure; for it is not to be supposed, but that the hopes of spoil attracted a multitude of adventurers to the banners of the Cross, as a similar motive attracts soldiers in all wars; yet it is still true, that, it is from these crusades or extravagant undertakings, that the high spirit of chivalry, which served to exalt and civilize the human race, then overwhelmed in barbarism and rudeness, dates its origin. Heroism, generosity, and sentiments of honour became innate qualities of the profession of arms; and, with a mixture of what is now considered as rude and barbarous, there was, occasionally, displayed something superlatively grand and romantic in the character of European warriors in the Holy Land, particularly in the

Motive.

the character of the King of England. The operation of the principle of chivalry was strong among the Spaniards, the French, and even in some of the Italian states. The object of the crusades, placed in a high motive, animated the courage of nations individually; it united different nations in combined operations, inasmuch as it was a general object; and, while it furnished opportunities for the display of military talent, it encouraged sentiments of generosity,—manifesting a desire of justice, for it professed to redress wrongs. It farther served, in various ways, to favour the developement of the powers of the human mind, and it contributed materially to extend the sphere of human knowledge. It had, as observed above, an evident effect, in civilizing the world, and in exalting the character of man; but it cannot be said, that it afforded any new light in the art of war; for, strength of body, and individual prowess appear uniformly to have been the qualities of the first estimation. The mind was ardent in its pursuits, and enthusiastically devoted to its purpose: acts of prowess and address were common, but military science was dormant.

Influence.

Mode of war.

SECTION VII.

Spanish.

THE Spaniards, as they had more connexion and more frequent contentions with the Saracens, than any other nation in Europe; so they imbibed a larger share, than others, of that spirit of chivalry, which prompts to seek adventure for the fame of heroic deeds. The Saracens were powerful---comparatively refined and polished. Spanish soldiers became necessarily elevated in sentiment, as contending with a foe of an exalted character.

Causes of eminence.

racter. The Spaniard had, then, a period of military glory. It was brilliant; but not of long duration. The expulsion of the Moors from Granada, and the discovery of the treasures of America—causes, in common opinion, calculated to increase and ensure happiness—were followed by a general and signal degeneracy. Spain was in vigour in the fifteenth century, possessing heroic soldiers and captains, skilful in the then art of war: she extended her conquests rapidly, discovered riches of which Europe had no idea, and bartered for riches her military virtues, and all the qualities which render man respectable.

Causes of decay.

The glory of Spain was obscured or absorbed in a lust of wealth; and a lust of wealth, sanctioned by the iniquity of priests, conducted the Spaniard to every species of crime. Wealth was obtained; and the possession of wealth has sunk the race to a point of debasement, from which it never can emerge, without a revolution: for there is a law of nature, which, in an invariable order, though by a slow progress, never fails to punish crimes and injustice;—and, with crimes and injustice, the Spanish character, in the new world, was overwhelmed.—The power of a tyrannizing bigotry enslaved the thinking faculty; a coarse sensuality engrossed the mind, and sloth paralysed exertion. There was no longer any manly pursuit; and the little activity, which remained, was devoted to the accumulation of a metal, of which the value is not justly known. For it is manifested strongly in the history of this people, that avarice, extinguishing public virtue, by engrossing all the faculties in the acquisition of gold and silver, corrupts the mind, rendering man poor and miserable, though in possession of immense treasures. Spain is in reality a poor country, though blessed with a delightful climate; and Spaniards are poor, some in reality, some in opinion, though the precious metals every-where abound.

The

The military character of the present race of Spaniards is so unlike that of the Spaniards of the sixteenth century, that the nation can scarcely be recognised to be the same as in that period. The energy or moving spirit is gone; but the foundations of military excellence still remain in the physical constitution. Spaniards are sober in their habits, temperate in living, slow, but patient in toil, and persevering in pursuit after a given rule. That they have lost their place among military nations, originates with a government, corrupted by wealth, so as to be deprived of that energetic virtue, which gives impulse in grand affairs. The truth is here verified, that while ambition extends empires, avarice operates their decay: the love of money has degraded Spain, and even annihilated the military character of the Spanish nation.

SECTION VIII.

French.

THE French nation imbibed a large portion of the spirit of chivalry, derived from the crusades. In all ages, the wars and military expeditions of the French have been distinguished, by an eminent degree of enterprize and activity. The character of the nation has always been military; and, at particular periods, its glory has been brilliant. Restless, as ambitious of power and dominion, the French have rarely been long at peace, either with their neighbours or with themselves. On most occasions, France has produced men possessed of military talents; but the most distinguished period of its history, though not the period of greatest conquest, was the reign of Francis the first. The enemy stood high in reputation, and the character of heroism

Character for enterprize.

heroism and courage was eminent, in the armies of both the contending nations. The military fame of France was also brilliant under Turenne; but Turenne was so great, so good and so amiable in himself, as to be sufficient cause of creating virtue and implanting honor in the soldier's breast in any country,—even in a degenerate age. The revolution which is just past marks another epoch,—but it is of another cast. It has astonished Europe; for the novelty of the mode of war, or some other cause, has produced an effect,—not within the common rules of military calculation.

Of the physical qualities, which render men fit for the practice of war, the French nation possesses a large share;---these are improved, even multiplied, by institution. The French are a race of men rather small in size; consequently, they are supposed to be, and they actually are, inferior in positive force to many people in Europe; but, though inferior in positive force to most, they are more active; they use their limbs individually with exertion, and they move quickly in the common business of life. They move with ease and freedom; for they are well set upon their haunches, either naturally, or by the art of masters, the study of position, and the practice of movement being an early object in the system of French education. The French soldiers are alert; and it may be said, without prejudice, that they are not second to any soldiers in Europe, in readiness and rapidity of movement in the field,---an eminent advantage, principally to be imputed to primary education, improved by habits cultivated in civil life. The art of dancing is the amusement and pleasure of the French nation; consequently the bent of the genius is directed to discover positions, connected with easy and graceful movement: easy and graceful movement is connected with the capacity of enduring motion; thus, the domestic practice of dancing

Bodily physical properties.

dancing improves the pliability of the limbs, and confirms the habit of continuing exercise with proportionally little fatigue.

The French are active corporeally; they are enterprising mentally, easily impressed with a phantom of glory and a desire of fame. Hence they are easily led to every variety of action, which presents a novelty. They are vain individually; but they are also ambitious nationally; insomuch, that the glory of the French nation stands always in a prominent point of view with every genuine Frenchman. Not so firm in resisting as many, nor so powerful in close attack as others, they are notwithstanding impetuous,---susceptible of flashes of enthusiasm, which, when well directed, accomplishes great objects; but the object must be distinct, precise, and such as is fully comprehended; for the constancy of their conduct is connected with the precision of their intelligence of the thing desired. In short, the French appear to be of that class of men, who act from sensation, rather than from firm and rooted sentiment in the mind: they are thus capricious; but, as they are capable of being excited enthusiastically, by an operation upon the organs of sense, they are, from this cause, effective instruments in the hands of a skilful general, who knows things and who has discernment to estimate effects. But to ensure effect, from the operation of such instruments, the character must be well understood---without such knowledge, there will be no just application, or true measure of the powers for the various points of the conflict.

Mental properties.

It was observed above, that the French do not possess the same positive force as many people in Europe; but being a people of an exquisite physical sense, they possess powers of ready intelligence, superior to most. From the advantages of ready perception, mental activity, and celerity of bodily movement, they are excellently fitted by nature for irregular or partizan war.

Capacity for war.

war. Furnished by nature with such qualities, they might be supposed to be, as they are in fact, better calculated to act offensively than to resist action; for while they are inferior to the mass of European nations in the power of the arm, they are also inferior in constancy of courage to many;—an effect depending on a more ticklish balance of physical sensibility. They are volatile: they are not now, and never have been, eminent in the rigid tactic of the mechanical school. In the times of the monarchy, the Swiss and other foreigners in the French service, seemed to be the very bones and solid parts of the French armies;---the native French were distinguished in the lighter movements. In the late war, a spirit of enterprize, activity and celerity, general and individual intelligence, were conspicuous; the proper application of which qualities appears to have done more for the French nation, than could have been expected from the rigorous discipline of the King of Prussia. If the nature of the French was abhorrent from the constraint of rigid tactic, French generals shewed their genius and discernment in appreciating the character of the nation, and in adopting the best method of applying its powers in action.

Causes of success.

The success of the French arms, in the late contest, does not appear to have arisen from such causes, as are usually attended with success in regular mechanical armies. It is not pretended by any one, that the French either cultivated or attained perfection in that form of discipline, which concentrates force in solid lines and columns. The army, with the exception of the reserve, was not compactly formed; and it even may be presumed, that the spirit of the individual parts was not, in all cases, uniformly high; for recruits were forced to the armies by terror, even led in chains as prisoners. If the spirit was not ardent, nor the temper susceptible of rigid discipline, success seems a problem of no easy solution. Yet success was eminent;

nent; and the effect seems only to be capable of explanation on the supposition of a movement, produced by the operation of art skilfully applied. The French possess a lively sense physically. Their leaders knew the causes which operate upon the organs of sense; they applied them with a direction, calculated to engender a glowing enthusiasm. A revolutionary movement, produced by address, was fostered by the idea, that France was attacked for the purpose of degradation and enthralment, even inflamed by the fiction, that the cause of mankind was committed to the defence of the French arms. Indignation was thus roused against the instruments of injustice towards France; a phantom of glory filled the breast of every Frenchman, who considered himself as the champion of the liberties of mankind. Enthusiasm being thus engendered for an object, against which an aversion was but recently felt, the mind was led in unison to actions of enterprize and magnitude, by impression of indignation or sensation of glory. This was the primary motive: it diverged into various channels; and new accessions arose in the after-progress, urging the action on, when the first impulse began to languish.

It was probably by the operation of such causes, that the passion of enthusiasm was engendered among the French soldiery. Success is due to it; but the novelty of the mode of fighting, adopted in the new circumstances, had also a share in producing unexpected events. Novelty disconcerted the routine of the systematic school; for the regular armies, attacked on different points and out of rule, did not know which way to look, or how to defend themselves. Hence, novelty, in consequence of an effect connected with astonishment, produced a success not calculable by common rules of mechanical war. A point was gained in the enemy's line by the pressure, or unexpected appearance of a column; and, as the efficiency

of a mechanical army consists in its tactical continuity and support of parts, the derangement of a part, however produced, deranges the whole. The line being broken by impression, the field is lost by the possession of a point in the line. Skill in application, seconded by a spirit of enterprise and celerity of movement, produced this effect more frequently than the overbearing weight of superior force. But in whatever manner the impression was made, the defeat of the enemy was the consequence of the impression. The French armies succeeded in their views from the operation of this cause. Their successes were unexpected in the calculations of military men: they were indeed beyond bounds; but it may upon the whole be presumed, that they were chiefly owing to a spirit of enterprise, which, arising from vanity, leads its votary to daily new attempts; from celerity of movement, which brings the force promptly to the just point of action; and from quickness of intellect, which gives a readiness in reading the countenance of things, so that the opportunities of seizing the advantages of the moment be not lost. An army, expert in the desultory and irregular mode of war, harrasses and annoys a mechanical force arranged in close and compact order, even eventually discomfits battalions, marshalled in all the parade of tactic, though defective in positive power from want of union of parts, it avoids the shock, or yields the field in the open pitched battle. The French excel in the desultory mode of war. With others, desultory war is accidental and subordinate; with them, it is systematic and principal. As their excellence lies in war of the partisan or irregular character, it is evident that they are chiefly formidable in attack; for, of such war, attack is the peculiar mode. The French spread wide in action, advance and retire, disperse—and rally with great readiness and address. When finally disappointed they escape with comparatively little loss;

loss; the celerity of their movements carrying them out of the way of destruction, and their fashion of fighting, which does not imply a resistance to the last extremity, accustoming them to retire without confusion, at least without considering themselves as defeated. They harass to a certain extent, and hold themselves quit of their duty; they have a vanity which exults in victory; they want the pride which broods over a defeat.

The mode of war, lately adopted in the French armies, appears to be irregular. It is so, compared with that of the Prussian school; but it is regular, correct and perfect according to its own rule. It is evidently the mode of war, the best adapted to the character of the French nation. A battle, in the irregular style of war, consists of a repetition of attacks, each of which has its own impulse, or distinct point which fixes the eye. The French advance, attack and retire; and, though constitutionally an impetuous people, they are so influenced by a succession of objects soliciting new attempts, as to imitate the most perfect *sang froid* in their mode of conducting an action. They brave the fire of musketry; for every one has an object in his own eye which fixes the attention; while no one, supported immediately and mechanically by the close order of the ranks, is so forcibly impressed with fear at the destruction of his comrade—as happens unavoidably in the close order of tactic. The battle, in common circumstances, is entrusted to troops, who act in a desultory and irregular manner. They advance boldly, even rashly; but they are supported by a reserve, which consists of tried men: till that is overturned, the French do not esteem themselves defeated. As it is demonstrated in every case, that the French are chiefly formidable in attack; and, as it has been often proved, that when fixed to a distinct point of action, they yield the field to inferior numbers of British troops, it becomes decidedly the object

Tactic.

in future wars to offer, rather than to sustain the charge—to fix the field of battle, if possible to open grounds, where the whole mass may be embraced; in broken and irregular grounds, their activity, and their experience of the loose mode of fighting give them evident advantages over the soldiers of most other countries.*

* The character of the Athenians, painted by the Orator of Corinth and contrasted with that of the Lacedemonians, so closely corresponds with the character of the French of the present time, as if it had been expressly drawn for them. It will not perhaps be unacceptable to some readers to see the leading features of it transcribed.

Οἵ μεν γε, νεωτεροποιοι, και επινοησαι οξεις, και επιτελεσαι εργω ὅ αν γνωσιν.—αυθις δε οἵ μεν, και παρα δυναμιν τολμηται, και παρα γνωμην κινδυνευται, και εν τοις δεινοις ευελπιδες.—Και μην και αυκνοι,—και απωδημηται—ὄιονται γαρ οἳ μεν, τη απουσια αν τι κτασθαι—κρατουντες τε των εχθρων, επι πλειστον εξερχονται, και νικωμενοι, επ' ελαχιστον αναπιπτουσιν. ετι δε, τοις μεν σωμασιν αλλοτριωτατοις υπερ της πολεως χρωνται, τη δε γνωμη, οικειοτατη ες το πρασσειν τι ὑπερ αυτης. Και ἃ μεν αν επινοησαντες μη επεξελθωσιν, οικειων στερεσθαι ἡγουνται; ἃ δ' αν επελθοντες κτησονται, ολιγα προς τα μελλοντα τυχειν πραξαντες. ην δ' αρα που και πειρα σφαλωσιν, αντελπισαντες αλλα επληρωσαν την χρειαν. μονοι γαρ εχουσι τε και ὁμοιως ελπιζουσιν ἃ αν επινοησωσι, δια το ταχειαν την επιχειρησιν ποιεισθαι ὧν αν γνωσι. Και ταυτα μετα πονων παντα και κινδυνων δι' ὅλου του αιῶνος μοχθουσι. Και απολαυουσιν ελαχιστα των ὑπαρχοντων, δια το αει κτασθαι. Και μητε ἑορτην αλλο τι ἡγεισθαι, η το τα δεοντα πραξαι. Ξυμφοραν τε ουχ ἡσσον ἡσυχιαν απραγμονα, η ασχολιαν επιπονον. ὡστε ειτις αυτους ξυνελων φαιη πεφυκεναι επι τῳ μητε αυτους εχειν ἡσυχιαν, μητε τους αλλους ανθρωπους εᾶν, ορθως αν ειποι. *Thucydid. Hist. lib.* 1. *page* 97. *Edit. Bipont.*

TRANSLATED.

The Athenians are innovators, quick in devising, and ready in executing that which they devise. They are enterprising beyond the measure of their power, adventurous beyond the sanction of their judgment, and confident in hope in difficulty and danger. They are unceasingly active;—addicted to foreign expeditions; for, in foreign expeditions, they calculate upon gain. If they obtain the superiority over an enemy, they reap the utmost fruit of their advantage; if they fail, they suffer, as little as possible, under the discomfiture. They expose their bodies most freely in the service of the state; they employ their intellect most devotedly for the execution of its purposes. They imagine that they are deprived of their just rights, when they do not obtain the things upon which they have set their mind; they esteem the things which they obtain and actually possess, as of small account, in comparison of those, which they expect to gain by perseverance in a course of action. If their enterprizes at any time misgive, they strike out another channel for hope, thereby making up for the failure. It is peculiar with them,—from their promptitude of action, to grasp in possession, at the instant

SECTION IX.

Germans.

THE German nation was long celebrated in war,—possessing force and courage, above most others;- but, unless from the short memorial of Tacitus, &c. little is known of the history of the German people. It is not certain where the original Germans now are, or in what proportion they are mixed with their invaders; for Germany appears to have received a large foreign population after the time of Tacitus,—a people bringing with them their own languages, laws and customs. The northern class, Saxon, Dane, Norwegian and Swede, were all of them warlike people,---given to free-booting, piracy and colonization. They emigrated from their homes, and established themselves in various countries; for the impulse which urged them was energetic, as usually is the case in the early stages of society, when men emerge from barbarism. After the subjection of the German nations by Charlemagne, a great extent of Germany was divided into principalities, dependant upon the head of the empire, as appendages of his household. Where people are not sovereign and independent, their character can scarcely be expected to be of the first excellence. The German states, as depending on the empire, were consequently in the degraded

stant they conceive the design of possessing. This rule of conduct they pursue unremittingly—through toils and dangers; having scarcely any enjoyment of what they actually possess, as being harrassed by the constant thirst of acquisition. They do not reckon any day festival, except where they effect a purpose,—esteeming inactive ease, as a misfortune, not less annoying than laborious toil. But to sum up the character in a word, if any one were to say that this people have been formed by nature, neither to be at rest themselves, nor to suffer others to be at rest, he would say the truth.

ranks

ranks of society, debarred, by their condition, from attaining a national elevation. The principalities were feudal of the empire,—bound to military service; as military service seemed to be a condition of all inferior tenures. The German people were not, strictly speaking, military nations; for they were not independent:—they were a people, entertained and supported, on account of military service. Where military service is the condition of the tenure of the lands, the practice of war naturally becomes the trade and occupation of the people. The lords or masters may be supposed to study military science in its principles, for the sake of advantage; the vassals voluntarily hire themselves, or are forced, by requisition, to carry the principles into practice. Hence the mercenary soldier, and hence the degradation of mankind; for men, whether lords or people, who pursue war as a trade, hiring themselves for the destruction of their fellow-creatures, against whom they have no cause of complaint, do not hold an honourable place in society. They do not possess the respect which belongs to the military character; a character highly venerable, where its efforts are directed to a national object; but only pure, where they are exerted in defence of a native country—or in relief of oppression. The mere mercenary soldier becomes an instrument of tyranny for gain, and, for the sake of plunder, absolves himself of the ties of humanity. The German nations cannot be altogether acquitted of this reproach; for Germany has been, and still is, the cradle and nurse of mercenary soldiers.

SECTION

SECTION X.

Austrian.

THE Austrian army is the most numerous, and, since the time of the Emperor Joseph, the best equipped among the armies of the German nation. The materials, as far as the question respects physical qualities, have a high share of advantages. The Austrian army possesses more positive force than than that of the French; the mass consisting of larger men, who have more weight of body and more power of arm. But, though more powerful in force, it is not so alert in movement; for the domestic habits, and the forms of military instruction, do not cultivate, and call forth, in a similar manner, the exertions of the limbs. If less alert than French; it is more sprightly than Prussian, Hessian or Hanoverian; and it has attained a higher degree of perfection, in the practice of modern tactic, than perhaps any other in Europe. The movements in the field are mechanically correct; the arrangement and order of the interior œconomy systematic and precise. But, though it exhibits an appearance of systematic exactness in its arrangements, the construction is artificial, and merely mechanical; the movements, which are studiously measured, and which exactly correspond in the common routine of duty, stagnate or run counter in various instances of service, from defect of internal principle. The spring of action is placed in fear from behind, acting by external impulse; or in hopes of the spoils of the enemy, soliciting a forward movement, as a private advantage. These are adventitious and relative. They slacken, or they do not act equally upon all men; consequently the effect is not consistent.

Organization and tactic.

Principle of action.

An

An army, moved by such motives, (instead of being moved by sentiments of generosity and heroism, arising in the mind of those, who feel that they defend their native country, and protect those of their race, who are weak and helpless,) cannot be expected to be otherwise than capricious and uncertain in its action. Hence it is observed, that the Austrian army, though perfectly organised according to appearance, and arranged systematically in all its parts, so as to give expectation of a correct and uniform result on all occasions, has often failed in the day of battle---indifferent, in defect of animation, rather than cowardly, as an effect of fear.

The organization, in such cases, is correct; but the principle, which warms the mind and cements union of action, is wanting. Where that is present, the effect is such as might be expected from the operation of a machine, perfect in all its parts, and animated in all its organs. This was frequently exemplified in the late war. The presence of the Archduke Charles operated with an electrising influence, through the whole extent of the Austrian army. His presence was marked by success; and it can scarcely be supposed, that his successes, which were so brilliant, were owing to improvement in tactic,—not, perhaps, to greater skill in the plan of battle. If traced to their foundations, they will more certainly be found to have arisen from an influence on the mind of the soldiery, communicated by the example of a hero. Under the Archduke, the Austrian army was animated by a prominent object,—the influence of a beloved chief; under most of the other generals, its movements were mechanical,—correct, but languid,—without animation,---driven by external force, rather than led by internal motive.

The Austrian army stands high in the estimation of military men; but its value consists in corporeal advantages,---in a brilliant

liant physical force, mechanically and correctly combined according to appearance, stimulated to action by external impulse, not animated to exertion by internal spirit. It forms a contrast with the French. In one, there is a correct organization, with a foreign or feeble spring of action; in the other, an individual and unceasing activity, with a loose organization. The organization of the Austrians, added to the spirit and activity of the French, might be esteemed an example of high perfection.

SECTION XI.

Prussian.

FREDERICK the Second, usually styled the Great, is esteemed the most skilful master in the art of war, which the last century, or, according to some, which any age of the world has produced. He raised his nation to great military eminence; an act, which he is supposed to have accomplished, principally, by improving a system of tactic; which was of such a nature as to astonish by an effect of novelty, and, at the same time, to communicate a desire of imitation. His opponents imitated: they were consequently scholars in the school of a master; inferior, in their own estimation, as scholars; feeble and half prepared in defence, as wanting knowledge.

Tactic, as novel.

The King of Prussia did not possess better materials than other Generals of his time; but he arranged them differently, and, probably viewed, in a different light, the principle by which they act on the enemy; or, by which they are acted upon, for the preservation of their own organization and the accomplishment of their offices. He thought contemptibly of

the human race, despising the human understanding, and mocking the idea of man's independence. As he under-valued man, his aim was directed to substantiate an imposition of fear upon his senses, in all his relations. The discomfiture of the enemy, whether by impression of terror, or actual destruction of his existence, is the purpose of a battle. A calculation of force to destroy, and a study of the powers, which impose appearances of terror, are consequently the chief objects in view. They are both comprehended in the Prussian system: the machine moves on this primary principle; it is conducted, in this view, through all its movements, so as to operate upon the sensibilities of man, as upon the senses of a slavish animal. The authority of command, supported by fear of punishment, gives an impulse of action to the instrument, as an effect of terror. This terror, combined, concentrated and directed to an opposite or resisting object, produces a multiplying effect of the same impulse. There is thus an imposition of fear through the whole chain of connexion,---from the halbert of the serjeant to the retrograde step of the hostile force. But, as the motive to action is an external impulse, the machine to be moved, complicated, and frequently heterogeneous in its parts, the movement is liable to many contingencies. If the machine acts from impulse of terror, as terror has no discretion, it may reasonably be presumed, that much of its force is wasted or misapplied. Hence it is found to be true in fact, that notwithstanding the great mechanical correctness of the movement of a Prussian army, the rapid, and the apparent precise direction of the power of the missile force, the effect is often abortive; for proceeding from an instrument, directed, in some manner, by a blind impulse, it has no discretional action, exerting no judgment individually in the direction of its power. The direction of the power is an operation of mechanical routine. A body is struck,

Principle of action.

struck, and strikes another in succession. If it be not touched on the precise point, the movement is an error—and the effect is void.

The Prussian system of tactic is correct. It has great apparent value; for it professes to teach the art of concentrating power, and of directing its application with order and precision. This is a reality; and the extraordinary success of Frederick may be supposed, in a certain extent, to have been owing to this cause. So far Frederick has the merit of having made a permanent improvement in the art of war; but, it is also presumed, that no small share of his good fortune originated in appearances, or fictitious causes, which lose their influence, when known, and estimated by their just value. As the King of Prussia was aware of the ignorance of mankind, and of the weakness of the human mind, he knew that armies were intimidated by appearances, oftener than destroyed by realities; in short, that battles were often gained without the actual touch of force. He profited by his knowledge; and he brought to action some new instruments,—soldiers of gigantic size and imposing aspect, who had been collected for the Prussian service, previous to his time. Such persons, possessing weight and power, confident perhaps in superior weight and power, presented themselves with a forward countenance. The appearance of a heavy and solid mass intimidates the feeble minded; and success, in this manner, results from appearance. Where success results from such a stratagem, the cause is referable to an imposition upon fears, vulgarly called humbug,---not to reality in effect; for where the question is tried by force, and decided by fire-arms, the balance of the account is against the bulky mass.

Real value.

Fictitious value.

The imposition of fears, upon the sensibilities of an ignorant enemy by the demonstrations of a bulky mass, made a part in

the Prussian system of war; but besides this, the Prussian tactic contains others, which have a more solid claim to attention. The mode of tactic and evolution, changed, in a certain degree, from the one then practised, came forward with an appearance of novelty. It taught the art of directing an accumulated weight of fire upon particular points, more systematically and more rapidly than any other. The arrangements were exact, the combined movements were in unison; and the effect precise. In conducting the drillings, or primary foundations of this system, the authority of command and fear of punishment, operating with force, ensured the due performance of a mechanical action; a mechanical action, continued for a length of time, assumed, in some degree, the nature of a habit. The Prussian soldiery may be supposed, in consequence of a rigid drilling, to have acquired certain mechanical habits, at the commencement of a war, which were capable of giving them advantages in action over a less experienced enemy. Such were necessarily the advantages of the soldier, acquired by habit; but besides these, there were others of no small consideration. The officers of the Prussian army were officers of a superior class: several of them appear to have possessed more military talent than the king himself: the whole of them, perfectly conceiving the principle of the new system, performed the duties assigned to them with correctness and effect. Genius, here, met with encouragement; for the exertions of genius contributed aid to the purposes of the king.---The success was great,---astonishing in the eye of those who are accustomed to calculate success by mere quantity of force.---Some part of it was owing to causes, which are real, and which will always have effect; some part of it was owing to causes, which are fictitious or accidental, and which cannot be esteemed as just foundations for calculation with others.

Mechanical effect.

Officers.

It

Real causes of success.

It is generally known, that constraint, or an impression of fear, was the principle assumed by the King of Prussia in forming the Prussian army,---even in directing its conduct in action. The operation of such principle degrades the dignity of man's nature. It goes to extinguish the nobleness of his mind: and, if there be any faith in history, even in the testimony of our senses, it is demonstrated clearly, that, though impressions of fear, in the rear of an army, may prevent open acts of cowardice, they never engender generous acts of heroism. Hence, if the conduct of the Prussian troops was heroic, (and, in the seven years war, it was, in many instances, worthy of nations of the highest fame,) we must be compelled to explain the effect by the operation of some other cause than the action of fear or constraint upon an unwilling animal. In proof of the opinion, that the ostensible cause of action was not the real cause of success, it may be observed in the first place, that the King of Prussia formed a system of tactic, in some degree new: he understood the extent of the operation of the principle, upon which the system was formed, and the amount of the effect, which it was capable of producing. In all matters of arrangement, he was master of his own views; for he was responsible to himself only for what he did. He had knowledge of his subject; it was his own creation, and his calculations may, consequently, be supposed to have been correct. He knew the powers of his troops; for he had tried them often, and witnessed their exertions in variety of situations. The troops themselves had served long, and necessarily had acquired such confidence in their own powers, as arises in long service: they were expert in the use of arms; and they knew, from experience, to estimate things justly. These qualities are in some degree mechanical; they are comprehended in the routine of Prussian discipline; or they are engendered in

in the course of actual war: the king knew how to apply them with advantage. Such are the qualities of discipline: they are valuable in themselves; but they command success only in a limited extent. Something is still wanting to account for the conduct of the Prussian troops, which rose above any thing that can be expected to arise from an impulse of fear or coercion. This something, it is presumed, was connected with foreign circumstances, accidental, or peculiar to the times, bringing forth higher sentiments, and more energetic qualities, than can be supposed to spring from the operation of a system, the leading principle of which is fear of punishment;---a cause which restrains from doing wrong, but which does not stimulate to acts of extraordinary exertion or heroism. Heroic acts do not originate in fear: yet the acts of the Prussian soldiers were often heroic, individually as well as collectively; and, as this was the case, it is reasonable to believe, that the circumstances of the nation and of its monarch, surrounded and threatened to be overwhelmed by a combination of powerful enemies, called forth sentiments of generosity in the breast of the soldiery, united their hearts in national defence, and gave an energy to action, which soldiers, who are merely mechanical, can not be supposed to feel. The Prussian nation stood then in circumstances favourable for exertion; for simple and undebauched by riches, it felt strongly the action of the expansive powers, peculiar to a state of society as it emerges from obscurity. The native Prussian, irritated and inflamed against the invaders of his country (for the peasant venerates the soil which protects the ashes of his fathers), became ardent in defence; the old soldier was proud of his renown; the recruit, whether forced or trepanned, was carried away in the torrent; he imbibed a sensation of glory from anticipated success,---and became proud in himself: his motives were sublimed by association,

ciation, and his exertions, in action, rose superior to those of the animal, who is acted upon---merely by the impulse of fear. The whole of the army, forced or volunteer, foreign or native, was thus animated with a desire of glory: the operation of this desire gave union in movement; the justness of the mechanical arrangement produced correctness of effect. The king, as a general, was bold,---enterprising, even to rashness; he was indefatigable in his pursuits; his armies travelled from combat to combat,---often from victory to victory; little time was left for reflexion; the point of glory was always before the eye; fatigues and privations were buried in the idea of glory, or in a foretaste of enjoyment, when the labours of the war should be ended. The king studied scientifically; he knew the art of war; and he succeeded in impressing his army, and all Europe, with the opinion, that his genius was unrivalled. He went on with confidence; the enemy opposed him, in most cases, with feebleness and fear.

Causes of energy.

There is something like paradox manifested in the conduct of the Prussian army. The Prussian troops frequently displayed great activity. A high degree of activity is not usual, perhaps not compatible with an army, which is arranged mechanically in close order, and moved, solely, by the external impulse of fear. This is a fact which will not be disputed; and, as activity was often displayed beyond the usual measure of activity in armies, it will be necessary to admit, according to what has been already suggested, that an internal principle also existed, which gave impulse and animation to this animal matter, which was bound together by a mechanical arrangement, which gave it the efficiency of a whole and concentrated force. This principle seems to have been a sentiment of generosity, naturally arising in the breast of man, in favour of those who are threatened to be overwhelmed by the oppressions of the

the powerful. The nature of man is generous and compassionate, but resentful of injury. The Prussian soldiery felt an interest in the fate of the king; and sentiments of resentment sprang up, and swelled in the breast of every native Prussian, with the sensation of an invaded country; while a phantom of military glory, of unusual splendor, rendered every native Prussian, or soldier wearing the Prussian uniform, proud and important in himself. It may thus be inferred, that, as there was a correct arrangement of the several parts of the military fabric resulting from tactic; so there was a spirit, animating, moving and giving effect to exertion, generated by accidental circumstances, not connected with the system of tactic, but rather arising in spite of it; at least, in spite of the influence of the domineering principle of fear, which is considered as the mover and bond of the organization of the Prussian army. The Prussian nation had, like most other nations, a period of military glory. The time of Frederick was the military epoch of the Prussian people. Their success in arms was connected with a new system of tactic; and, as mankind is disposed to draw conclusions and establish maxims from outside appearances, the application of the rules of tactic was believed to be the cause of the success. That it was secondary, not primary, may be concluded from the existing fact, that the tactic is now perfect,—the glory is faint.

SECTION

SECTION XII.

Swede.

THE Danes and Swedes were among the boldest and most adventurous of the Teutonic nations, in former times. The Swedes, at a late period, attained the highest military glory of any nation in Europe, and some part of it was the best deserved. The wars of Gustavus Adolphus furnished the means of estimating the powers of man by their real value; for the lights, which then arose, from experience, may be considered as the rudiments of the new art of war. The foot soldier resumed his importance, which had been lost for ages past; and, as the cause of contest—the vindication of liberty and freedom of conscience---was a general and a noble one, the mass of the people was individually interested, its power was brought into view, and its value appreciated. The feats of many great generals and conquerors stand recorded in the annals of the world;—but most of these generals are men, who committed slaughter on their fellow-creatures—without bounds, without remorse, and for causes which are not warrantable. Gustavus protected those who were oppressed; he drew the sword in vindication of the independence of the human mind; and as he was the protector, he may, with justice, be held up to view, as the hero of the human race. Those who rallied under his banners felt the enthusiasm of liberty, the importance of their common nature; their courage was sublime, for it originated in the highest motives; they were bound to their object, for it was a cause common to all; it acted upon the mind of all, and, as it was just, it implied, and, by its success, appeared to obtain

New epoch in war.

tain the sanction of Heaven. The Swedish nation, and the King of the Swedes, rendered themselves dear to mankind by their generosity; their valour was a theme of wonder, and their virtues commanded esteem.

Character. The Swede, frugal and simple in manner of life, is capable of self-denial; hardy in frame, he is capable of enduring fatigues; of great physical force, he possesses great power of impression in the point of action: he possesses enthusiasm and military devotion above example; and, though sometimes rashly exposed by the adventurous Charles, he was always invincible, as far as human power and courage go, when led to a scene of action, where power and courage avail. The glory was brilliant; but the period of duration was not long; for the Swedes are now scarcely numbered among the warlike nations of Europe. But, though the military glory of the Swedes has declined; or, rather their power and dominion have been curtailed by adverse fortune, the virtues of their ancestors are still their own. They furnish an example rare in history, where a nation loses power and preserves moral character. The cause of so rare a phenomenon seems to be, that they were not rich and powerful, or powerful from the possession of riches. They were powerful from superiority of talent and prowess. These have waned in the revolution of things; but fortunately the radical virtues remain. The Swedes may again rise to military eminence; for they did not, like most nations, lose the physical fund of expansion, in the exhausting operation of luxury, during the period of their glory.

SECTION

SECTION XIII.

Russian.

THE Russian nation, long obscure and barbarous, rose to great eminence, as a military power, in the course of last century: its military character now stands high,—higher, perhaps, than it deserves to stand; for though the Russian peasant is allowed to possess natural qualities, suitable for the operations of war; and Russian arms have often, in reality, been successful in battle; yet it is not incontrovertible, that the trials have been such as decidedly stamp a character. The Russian arms have, for the most part, met with a feeble and disjointed resistance; for the Turkish nation is the enemy over whom the Russian success has been most boasted; and the Turks, who are better known now than they were formerly, have degenerated miserably; or they have stood still in the course of military science, while European nations have advanced. Rise.

The Russian troops, it may be proper to observe, are recruited from an immense tract of country,---from nations differing in language, manners and customs. The mass consists of persons who are in the barbarous stage of society,—the stage addicted to war and plunder. These various materials, differing in language and domestic customs, but agreeing in the general impulse which stimulates to action, are brought together to compose an army. They are arranged and classed according to resemblances in external form; they appear to be applied to the respective purposes of war according to an estimate of powers and capacities. The parts undergo a severe trial before they are admitted to form a part in the compo- Materials.

sition of an army. Many fail in trial and are rejected; for the mass of the peasantry are like blocks of timber---of little comparative value, till they are formed and fitted to their places in the fabric. The Russian peasant is harshly treated in the act of military training,---probably with a view to prove his radical fitness for the purposes of war. He suffers; but he does not resent; for born in submission to a lord or master, who is absolute over his person, he is tame and docile, permitting his carcase to be moulded into any form of which its physical capacity is susceptible.

Tactic. The form of the Russian tactic is on a similar model with that of the King of Prussia; the principle, adopted in influencing the movement, is the same; and it is carried to the outmost extent of rigour in execution. Here, every feeling or sentiment belonging to man, except the dread of military authority, is supposed to be absorbed or extinguished. Hence is seen a perfect obedience to arbitrary will. A routine of artificial action is the sole aim of the military education; and man, reduced to a subordinate part, in an artificial instrument, is interdicted the exercise of judgment in what he does. Fear is the paramount motive which stimulates to action; and, where fear reigns, no generous principle or manly sentiment can find place. Hence those incitements to action, arising from ideas of honor and glory, which inflame so many nations with sentiments of enthusiastic valour, can scarcely be supposed to operate upon a Russian soldier, who, formed in the perfection of Russian discipline, has no idea of independence, consequently, cannot be supposed to act for, or from himself. The whole aim and bent of the education or training is directed to form an instrument, possessing locomotive power and constrained action, adjusted in a machine, possessing powers of movement, and performing offices, only according to rule,

stimu-

stimulated to the performance of its offices, by fear of punishment; that is, only prevented from slackening in its routine of action, by a cause of force pressing on the rear. This is the rule of action; and with such a rule of action, it is possible to understand how an army is induced to remain at its post, and exercise the musket mechanically while its capacities are unimpaired. The appearance of so much regularity in action is imposing; but its effect is deceptive. An army, so constituted, and acting from such a motive, can only be supposed to be capable of acting in a beaten tract, and to produce effect in a given position. It is an automaton in reality, or it is supposed to be so. If perfect, it is without innate passion or desire of action,—generally or individually; and if less sensible of fear from the enemy, than of fear from the halbert of serjeants, it remains at its post, suffers itself to be destroyed, as an act of obedience; but it makes no effective effort to extricate itself from danger, by an act of its own exertion. Such may be supposed to be the character of an army, perfect in mechanical discipline, according to the principle of the King of Prussia and the practice of Russian armies. As it has no action of its own, and no motive to action, except an impression of fear urging it forward, it is necessarily torpid and ineffective, where that impression is weak or ceases to act.

But, as the highest aim of Russian discipline is directed to render man, individually, a mechanical instrument, and the aggregate of individuals a machine, pouring forth a destructive fire, it is evident, that the value of the machine consists in the correctness with which the execution of its routine of duty is performed, as the effect, in application to its purpose, depends upon the manner in which the power is directed to its object, by the skill of the general. The Russian army is mechanical in its organization: its appearance strikes the eye with impression

sion of something powerful, and superiorly correct in arrangement. A Russian line or column is firm and solid in its composition; uniform and exact in order, as if dressed by the line and plummet; united in movement, it seems irresistible in its progress; dexterous in the exercise of its offensive weapon, its fire rolls, with rapidity not to be exceeded, with exactness in time, as if it proceeded from a machine worked by a mechanical operation. But, as the view in training the soldier, in the use of the musket, seems to regard more expressly the power of multiplying the quantity of fire, rather than of regulating direction, it often happens that fire is expended without aim or adequate object. It is consequently thrown away; and when the fury of the torrent is past, the instrument is comparatively harmless and often helpless.

Insufficiency.

The Russian form of discipline, at this time, the most mechanical, the most rigid and the most perfect of any, perhaps, in Europe, has not yet attained that perfection which produces uniformly a well directed effect in action; or which ensures subordination in all the circumstances of actual war. The Russian soldiers frequently expend their ammunition without an adequate object; for their military operation partakes of the nature of the operation of a machine; or the shackles of fear give way, the native character developes in the midst of strong causes, and the artificial fabric rushes headlong into disorganization and ruin. The illustrations are numerous; for instances abound, where Russian troops, after expending ammunition without object, have given themselves up to slaughter without resistance; or where, throwing off the shackles of restraint, they have run into every wildness of insubordination, drunkenness and plunder, even in the midst of battle.---It is thus, that, in spite of the strong operation of causes, which operate compulsively

sively upon man, the nature of man revolts occasionally from constraint, and assumes its independence.

The Russian arms have attained a high fame among military nations; but, if causes be referred to the true source, it will probably be found, that the whole of their fame is not the fruit of their mechanical discipline. The causes of success are various. The Russian soldier, the slave of military authority, reduced apparently to an automaton, in the common routine of duty, still retaining a quality of his native barbarity, is greedy of the spoils of the enemy. Covetousness is thus a motive which urges him forward. The Turkish empire is the theatre of the Russian glory; and the Turkish war every-where presented a booty. This gave animation to the movement of the mass. But, besides the incentive to action, arising from the hopes of plunder, the Russian, in spite of every rigor of discipline, calculated to banish or obscure the thinking faculty, still preserves some exercise and action of mind. His mind is not obliterated; but its operation is simple; constrained, in some manner, to regard only a few objects, it may naturally be supposed to be ardent in pursuit, and attached, with passion, to the objects which attract its notice. It is, thus, that the Russian is capable of being impressed with sensations, so warm and strong, as to be converted into sentiments of enthusiasm; for being little distracted by the varied pleasures of sense, which attach men to life for the sake of sensual gratification, the simple Russian proceeds in his pursuit, or duty, with a steady progress, and in a determined course. In this manner, the Russian soldier is capable of being influenced by a sentiment, ardent as a passion,—viz. devotion in a religious cause, or attachment to a beloved chief. The fact is proved by many illustrations in the history of the Russian people. The mechanical power of their tactic appears frequently to have failed, in the point of action.

Causes of success.

The

The fabric threatened to fall to pieces, when Suwarrow found a remedy. Suwarrow, who is considered as a buffoon by the multitude, was in reality a genius in war; for he knew how to create enthusiasm in the mind, and thereby support action, when the exertions of the animal body, as actuated by the supposed impulse of mechanical armies had become feeble. He impressed the credulous with an opinion that he was inspired; hence the simple, and otherwise torpid Russian, moved by this impulse, felt himself strong, and proved himself to be invincible. By means of this impression, the Russians were led to perform acts of boldness, and to persevere in difficulties, which would have been unsurmountable to a mechanical force, acting solely by the external impulse of fear—the assumed principle of the customary tactic. It may hence be concluded, and the fact appears to have been frequently confirmed in practice, that it is to the enthusiasm of the Russian soldiery, as impressed by a religious sentiment, or devotion to the will and confidence in the supernatural powers of Suwarrow, that the most brilliant successes of that people are chiefly to be ascribed; for, it is here, as in other cases, that effect arises from influence of example, operating upon the mind and inspiring the congenial sentiment of an ennobling passion, rather than from an effect of a mechanical routine of duty, resulting from a discipline, originating in an impression of fear, forced to persevere in its routine, by an impression of constraint. It is thus evident; and it is proved in the history of war in all countries and in all ages, that military action, in order to be effective, demands a spirit of animation, paramount to the rigid confinement of a mechanical rule. If the influence of mechanical discipline were the sole cause of success in the field of battle, the effect would not be liable to so much caprice, nor shew so much variety, under similar external circumstances, as it does; for if every

every result were the product of a regular mechanical operation, there would be no successes or failures, which were not previously calculable, and consequently calculated. Machines are supposed to act according to the quantity of their mechanical powers, and the precision of the mechanical application; but this is not uniformly so in fact in the combat of armies, where the spirit of the chief sometimes operates more than his skill.

The Russian army presents itself to the eye of the observer, as a fabric highly perfect in the mechanical arrangement of its parts. The celerity of manual movement, and the exact correspondence in time, with which it performs its exercises and manœuvres, cannot perhaps be exceeded. It appears capable of throwing out a greater quantity of fire, in a given time, in proportion to numbers, than any other army perhaps in Europe. Its columns, arranged in order of battle, are compact and firm; the movement is rapid, and while the scene of action admits of union and rapid movement, it may be reckoned irresistible; for it has superior weight, and it is vigorously impelled forwards by an impulse threatening the rear. But, as the movement is mechanical, depending on the efficiency of complex causes, it is easily deranged; and when deranged, it is not easily rectified, for its motives of action are adventitious and external. In such a case, a skilful enemy, refusing close action, suffers this blind machine to expend, or play off the measure of its charge without an adequate object; for individually it has no intellectual discretion. When this is done, the action is silent, the instrument comparatively harmless; and the power being exhausted, the fabric is prepared for an easy destruction. Excellencies and defects.

The Russian army, which has attained a high perfection in tactic, or mechanical discipline, is also eminent for the order of its internal economy. The clothing of the soldier is substantial and good. It is made with judgment; for it is fashioned, so as Economy.

to be convenient and useful. The coat is not pinched, as is the case in most armies; the pantaloons are large, so as not to occasion confinement of the joints, or to prove irksome, when the soldier sleeps accoutred; the shoes are excellent,—the soles thick, the quarter deep, the leather rendered impenetrable to wet, by impregnation with tallow. The Russian soldier is furnished with a cloak of strong cloth.—A cloak, of proper dimensions, is more convenient, and, in all respects, more useful than a blanket; for while it serves as a covering at night, it may be used as a defence against cold or rain, when on duty.—The foundations of the economical arrangement are well laid in the Russian armies; and, in order that they be not disturbed by contingencies, as might be the case were they to depend upon contracts or common markets, every regiment has a certain number of workmen allotted to itself, for the adjustment of the regimental work. Besides this, every soldier, in the Russian service, is taught to mend his own clothes, to sew a plain seam, or to repair any accident that happens to his shoes. Hence it is, that, though the clothes of the Russian soldiers are often patched and mended, they never appear ragged and torn; and, though it may seem incredible to persons, who judge of possibilities by what they themselves see, it is certainly true, that a Russian regiment is capable of completely clothing itself in the short space of three days, for every individual is instructed in the mode of contributing labour to a common purpose.

Physical qualities.

The Russian army, which is so exact in tactic and economical arrangement, has also acquired a name on account of its exertions and its courage; but it does not appear, on close examination, that the intrinsic physical qualities stand high in the scale of excellence. The power, at least the balance of bulk, is ordinarily in the superior parts. The face of the Russian peasant is usually broad; the trunk of the body long, and heavy in

in proportion; the legs and thighs short;---the thighs fleshy and round;---the muscles of the legs do not swell out in action; nor are the traces of the muscles, in any part of the body, brawny or strongly imprinted.—The soldier moves constantly in the military step; the step is short; the movement quick; the action of the muscles is scarcely ever brought to the stretch; consequently, action, in such circumstances, is continued long without fatigue. This belongs to configuration and the exercise of power from habit. In regard to appearance the northern or real Russian has no pretensions to grace and beauty. The skin is harsh and coarse, and, though more frequently and more completely washed than any other soldier in Europe, the Russian often appears, on the first view, to be dirty and disgusting; he is often over-run with vermin, for the hair is long and the combs are bad. The Russian, as observed, has a weighty body, and a good share of positive strength; but he shews little active exertion; and, unless in the use of the firelock and other necessary instrument of war, the Russian soldier is an ignorant and clumsy animal, because he is untaught.

In moral qualities the Russian soldier has no extraordinary pre-eminence; but, at the same time, he is not without something that is valuable. He is good-natured, grateful for kindnesses rendered to him, obedient, either in kindness or from fear; for the most part, cheerful in temper; he is not dull in perception; but his understanding is necessarily of a narrow compass. He loves money in common with other men; and, as he is an animal of a narrow range of observation, it may be presumed, that love of money, or hopes of the spoils of the enemy, is the general incentive, which moves him willingly to war. This is a cause which operates generally on the mass; but as the mind is simple, it seems also capable of being enthusiastically moved by a particular object, and of acting heroically, under impres- Moral.

sion of such enthusiasm.---Suwarrow knew the best of any of the Russian generals to call it forth.

Diet. The Russian peasant is accustomed to hard fare in his native land:---brown bread and cucumber are his chief support. Admitted into the ranks of the army, he is allowed a ration of meat, twice, occasionally three times a week; but though the soldier is fed more highly than the peasant, he is still, comparatively with the soldiers of most other countries, coarsely and poorly fed: the bread is black and hard; the chief subsistence is on grain, and the quantity consumed is of a high measure. The stomach, from habit, is capable of receiving a large meal; and one large meal is generally sufficient for twenty-four hours. The drink of the Russian soldier is a sour liquor, termed *Kuas*, ---fermented from grain. When well made it is not unpleasant to the taste; it is cooling and refreshing in its effects, similar to vinegar and water, used by the Roman soldiers,---it is farther thought to be useful, in checking a disposition to scurvy, which seems to arise from food of little mixture.

In estimating the properties of this people, it is presumed, that the use of farinaceous foods and sour drinks contributes to preserve the animal habit cool and temperate; for the Russians are not irritable in their physical constitution. They support labour long; but they are less capable, than many, of great or sudden exertion; and, they seem ordinarily to require the action of strong causes to raise their efforts to the due pitch of energy.

Hardiness. The Russians are natives of a cold country; and it might naturally be supposed, that, familiar with the action of cold, they would be comparatively little susceptible of its effects. Such is not the case. A Russian shivers in a degree of cold, which makes little impression upon an Englishman. He is frost-bitten, where other nations scarcely suffer. This may, in part, be attributed to manner of living, and to quality of diet. The Russian

Russian dwellings, or barracks, are kept uniformly at a high temperature; and, when occasions oblige the Russian to go abroad in cold weather, he envelopes himself in furs or skins, according to his quality and condition. He likewise uses the warm or steam bath, at least once a week. From such practice, from the high temperature of the apartments, and from the effects of warm clothing, the fibre is lax, and the body susceptible of slight impressions of cold.---Upon the whole the Russian does not appear to be hardy in physical constitution; and, if torpid or less sensible of danger than some other people, it scarcely can be admitted, that he has a balance of advantages, for the purposes of war, over his neighbours of the continent. He is capable of perseverance;---a quality, probably, arising, in a certain extent, from the nature of his diet, which contains the irritable material in inferior proportion. But if more persevering than some, he is less intelligent and less energetic than many; so that his military character, which has been placed so high, has not perhaps been correctly estimated.

SECTION XIV.

Dutch.

THE Dutch vindicated their liberty, and established their independence, without a regular army; they lost it, when they trusted its defence to mercenary troops. In the arrangements, connected with economy and all the apparent forms of discipline, the troops in Dutch pay, at the commencement of the late war, had no superiors in Europe. But perfect, as they were, in the external forms of military tactic, they made no figure

Mercenary defence.

figure in the field of action; for they had little interest in the cause, which they had undertaken to defend. The country did not belong to the soldier, and it was probably lost from this cause. The defence was contracted for, and the contract was badly executed.

SECTION XV.

Swiss.

THE Swiss, who possess the mountains of the Alps, considered as the tower and citadel of Europe, long supported a character of eminence, corresponding with the elevation of their local situation. Their military name was high, and their moral virtues were such as deserved, and obtained the esteem of mankind. Their love of liberty and independence; their courage and heroism; the purity of their morals, and the fervor of their religion; the amiable and interesting character of their domestic manners were distinguished, so as to have few examples in the history of mankind. They were long successful in defence of their native country against powerful enemies; and the local advantages, which Switzerland naturally possesses, are such as might enable the Swiss to resist almost every open force in open war. But where the application of open force would, in all probability, have failed of effect, deceit and fraud were called in aid to complete the operation. A subtle and insidious foe, practising on the passions of the unsuspecting, succeeded in dividing the nation against itself; and thus, while France possessed herself of the strong hold of Europe, as a local position, she ensured a still greater object in her purposes of moral disorganization; for she hereby attained the means of cutting

Advantages of position, &c.

cutting up the roots of the liberty, the religion, and the moral virtue, which has long blessed the mountains of the Alps, regarded, with good reason, as the asylum of independence.

Military character.

The national character of the Swiss, in the days of their prosperity, was military, hospitable, generous, and sincere. In military virtues the Swiss nation was always eminent; and Swiss soldiers, in the service of foreign powers, were considered as the supports and bulwark of states in times of danger; they were defenders of laws and government, not instruments of tyranny, spreading death and destruction, termed conquest, for the sake of hire. The Swiss practised a correct and rigid mechanical discipline; but they further possessed a moral cause, which directed the view to a common object, and united the action of mind in a common point. The Swiss, though serving in foreign countries for pay, and, as such denominated mercenary troops, uniformly preserved the character of the Swiss nation,—courageous, brave, and faithful. They were justly esteemed to be the most perfect troops in Europe : they belonged to a nation, whose sentiments of the military character stood high, and whose domestic virtues were pure; for the manners were as yet not debauched by the abuse of riches.

Moral character.

The military character of the Swiss was eminent; the moral character was amiable. Some part of this pre-eminence was, perhaps, owing to local situation, some part of it to institution. The scenes, with which the native of Switzerland is daily surrounded, tend to elevate and ennoble the mind, to exalt the courage, and to confirm its constancy under trials of danger. The state of society, among mountains, is circumscribed; the ideas, restrained from wandering to distant and undefined objects, are, as at were, condensed and concentrated upon a point; the affections are rivetted to a place, and the bond of union among men is strong. Hence love of country, a veneration

ration of laws and customs, and an attachment to friends. The operation of physical causes may, thus, be supposed to mould the mind, and to confirm its action in a peculiar train of movement. The bodily powers receive impression from the habits of exercise to which they are inured. The limbs of the Swiss are thus active and springy, the chest ordinarily full; for the effects of the local situation and the customary occupations of life are calculated to call forth, and to confirm these powers of exertion. Hence, there is found, in the Swiss soldier, bodily force, joined with activity of movement; intelligence of things, similar to those of war, connected with firmness of mind in action. The local situation is calculated to engender sentiments of independence; sentiments of independence, however engendered, support and uphold the active exercise of virtue in its course.

SECTION XVI.

British.

THE British army, in the opinion of tacticians, not yet raised to the just height of mechanical perfection, is not equalled in shew and brilliancy of appearance by any army in Europe. The gaudiness and contrast of the dress, the number of ornaments and high order of the accoutrements, strike the eye, in a day of review, with an image of something superb. The size and figure of the men; the freshness of complexion; the fulness and plumpness of the limbs; and the order of arrangement of the parts, present a very gay and attracting coup-d'œil. It decidedly carries off the palm of brilliancy

Appearance.

liancy from all the armies in Europe; but the idea of beauty is relative to use: and, as brilliancy of dress, rosy complexion, and plumpness of limbs, are of no use in war, the existence of such qualities do not mark the pre-eminence of the military fabric. A sun-burnt complexion, a hardy and weather-beaten visage, with a penetrating eye and firm expression of countenance, sinewy and elastic limbs, traces of muscles strongly imprinted, indicating capacity of action, and marking experience of service, are the attractive beauties of a soldier. It is only to a few of the British army that this character applies; for the mass of the troops, levied in haste, on many occasions, and dispatched into remote countries, on detached services, do not acquire, or they lose by disuse, the military air and deportment which bespeak the character of a formed soldier. The system of the British tactic is one; but it does not operate one systematic effect throughout. Differences are observable in different regiments—in air, manner and in economy; so that, the impression of consolidated effect, arising from the ensemble of an army, which, educated in one school, is taught to view every object, whether military or economical, through one medium, does not strike the observer strongly, in a general estimate of the British army.

Necessity of the knowledge of the qualities of the parts.

To analyse the materials of the British army; that is, to investigate the individual qualities of the subject, and, to suggest rules of improvement for the arrangement and composition of the parts; so that the fabric may be rendered more consistent at its foundations, and the operations more united in effect, is an object of great importance in its own nature, and of urgent necessity in the present times. If the British empire is to be defended by a regular army, (and the necessity of the supposition is demonstrative,) it is evident, that the object will not be ensured, unless that army be of the best quality. It is

in pre-eminence of quality over others, rather than in quantity of number, that the value of a military force consists. Such pre-eminence is then the object of study; but it cannot be attained without an intimate knowledge of the qualities of the elementary materials, a judicious selection and correct adjustment of the several parts employed in forming the military fabric; the general movement of which requires to be operated by an innate principle; as its efficiency must be preserved, by perseverance in an animated system of tactic, aided by a judicious plan of economy.

Character. The British army is composed of three principal nations, English, Scotch, and Irish, all agreeing in some common qualities, yet, all manifesting certain shades of difference, arising from difference of climate and local situation, institution, occupation, or habit of life.—The *English* may be divided into two classes,—labourers or countrymen, townsmen or artizans. The pastoral occupation scarcely has an existence in England at present: hence the pastoral life, unless in a few parts, furnishes no recruits for the army.—The inhabitants of England have been mixed, at various times, by the effects of conquest and invasion; and England daily receives accessions and mixture of foreign people, who are allured, by various causes, to transfer their abode to Great Britain. This cause, where applied in action, most probably modifies original character; as the quality of soil and climate, in different parts of the island, probably produces some difference of physical property among the inhabitants of different districts, independently of the qualities of the radical stock. This is presumptive cause of difference; but, whatever be the effect of the operation of the causes alluded to, the mass of the people still bears the stamp of a peculiar character, which may be denominated English.

The

The English peasant comes forward with prepossessing corporeal advantages. He is strong and powerful in the limbs, particularly in the arms; the chest is full and open; the trunk ponderous. He displays great strength in momentary exertion; but he has less endurance in toil, and bears hardship less patiently than the peasantry of some neighbouring countries. He possesses power of the limbs; but being little accustomed to travel on foot, the gait is clownish, and the pace is not swift; insomuch that travelling, or marching, cannot be numbered among the excellencies of this nation, a defect, arising from want of training, rather than from want of physical power. The Englishman, as remarked above, is powerful in strength; but he is not hardy in body; for he is, comparatively speaking, delicately nursed. When well clothed, well fed, and well lodged, he goes on steadily in a daily routine of labour or duty; but as every thing is new in military service, particularly in actual war, accidents, not calculated upon, sometimes occur. He then complains, and even suffers; for, as sickness, according to the observations of medical men, is often consequent to changes in the mode of life; so, in all services, the Englishman is disposed to expect, that a condition shall be present on one part, to bind to the performance of a duty on the other;—there is here an express or tacit compact, connected with a reason. General qualities.

The English peasant and the English artizan are of the same class of people fundamentally; but occupation and habit produce differences of greater or lesser extent. The artizan, less powerful in body, usually of smaller size and of less native vigour, not so florid, and not so comely in aspect, but less sluggish in gait, more dextrous in the use of his hands, and more alert in mechanical movements, learns the manual exercises, the marchings, and evolutions, with greater facility than the peasant. He is rarely in the vigour of health; for the most of Difference of quality.

the artizan occupations are sedentary, and sedentary occupations are not healthful; but, as changes of situation and condition are commonly observed to produce a salutary effect upon languid and feeble habits, so health is ordinarily improved, and power actually increased, by the change of condition, connected with the adoption of military life. The peasant, in his outset, has, as observed, the advantage in power over the artizan; the artizan has the advantage, over the peasant, in facility of movements, connected with mechanical tactic.—But, whatever be the shades of difference observable among the different classes of this people, the native English, peasant or artizan, combines throughout, in his corporeal fabric, the fund of radical power,---actual force, with capacity of sudden action. These are military properties; and the part of the British army, recruited in England, and so constituted, must be allowed to stand on fair ground with its other parts, and, on advantageous ground, with the armies of other nations.

Character, causes, &c.

As the moral character of the English people is somewhat peculiar, the radical disposition of the soldier deserves some notice, in an attempt to estimate the value of the British army. The British government has a natural propensity for war; or, the extent and complication of its political concerns draw it often, involuntarily, into broils; for it has wars in almost every part of the world: yet, with all this natural propensity or casual necessity, and the consequent frequent occurrence of strife, the nation cannot be said to possess radically the stamp of the military character. The national pursuit is now ardent after manufacturing and commercial speculations. Two passions do not reign with equal power in the same subject; consequently the martial spirit does not run high among the mass of the people. The name of military service does not here, as in many countries,

countries, bring distinction; and as the profession of arms is not held in high estimation in England, the better class of the English peasantry does not quit its agricultural occupations for the pursuits of war: hence, the recruits of infantry regiments are ordinarily drawn from the overflowings of manufacturing towns, consisting frequently of persons, who are, in some degree, obnoxious in the community.—The acquisition of money, or wealth, is the general pursuit of mankind; but money, or hire for labour, is the sole and ostensible motive for action in all manufacturing and commercial countries:---gain is here the allowed and professed object of pursuit. The British army, it may be observed, has only an annual existence; and, in times of peace, it is usually reduced to a low standard in point of numbers. When so reduced, the ranks can only be expected to be filled up, at the commencement of war, by the bribery of high bounties. The nation adheres to its principle; it is manufacturing and commercial,—not military. The people is influenced by the common motive of action, which is a desire of gain;---hence, the bait of gain tempts multitudes to assume the military dress. But, though such allurement has the effect to fill the ranks with numbers, it should be held in mind, that it does not fill the ranks with soldiers; for they are not soldiers in spirit, who are tempted to carry arms for the sake of a bounty. Such, however, compose the mass of English recruits, at the commencement of war. They do not possess the genuine spirit of military service; and, it would be judging the nation below its just value, to determine its intrinsic military character, by an example of what is not on a level with the mass of the people.

The English peasant, as things are, has no predilection for a military life; neither does the profession of arms appear to be the bent of pursuit with the higher classes. Yet, though neither

neither gentleman nor peasant manifest the military ardor, which marks a military people, it must still be allowed, that the English officer and English soldier uniformly maintain, in war, the characteristic of the nation,—manifested in a display of cool and deliberate courage, decision and exertion in times of danger, equalled by few nations, and surpassed by none. But while this is true, it may, at the same time, be observed, that the spirit of enthusiasm, which stimulates to the enterprise of extraordinary acts, is not, as things now stand, a prominent quality among English soldiers. It is conspicuous among English sailors; and it may consequently be inferred, that the fund exists in the physical constitution of both,—dormant in the one, for want of culture. A brilliant act of enterprise is usually rewarded, in the naval service, with honors and promotion; it is consequently cherished, as the main channel by which officers attain early rank. A similar spirit of enterprise is rarely seen in the army; for there exists a more certain, and less hazardous channel of promotion in the measure of the purse. The spirit of enterprise, alluded to, exists in the physical constitution of the soldier, as well as in the physical constitution of the sailor; but it does not grow, unless it be cultivated; and it is not likely to be cultivated, unless a reward of honor and profit be attached to it. If the officer lead, the soldier will follow to the boldest enterprise; for, though the English soldier is not impetuous, he is determined and courageous, retaining such command of himself in action, that, if he fail in his object, he is capable of retiring from the contest,---defeated, but not routed. He performs his duties well in ordinary circumstances; but he performs them as duties not exceeding a certain measure and limit. He is capable of attachment; but he is less susceptible, than some others, of enthusiastic attachment to persons, abstractedly on their own account. He expects a general

general cause,—and a reason; so that the Englishman, even as a soldier, retains some part of the national character of independence—still measuring attachment and devotion to a common object, by purpose and utility, as referable to himself.

Military enthusiasm does not run high in the English army: it is not encouraged in the military school; and, if not encouraged in the military school, it is not likely to exist; for few ideas come under the eye of the peasant, in early youth, which tend to inspire sentiments of military glory. The country labourer performs his labour on a given condition, and after a regular routine. His society is confined to a narrow circle: field labours are often performed almost solitarily, the improved agriculture of the times furnishing few opportunities of young persons meeting in agricultural occupations, as was the case in the less polished ages, when games and amusements, calculated to call forth exertion, were practised with ardor; and, where the glory, acquired by those who excelled in such feats and contentions, gave a taste for the fame, which is connected with brilliant atchievements in war. As this does not now exist, the phantom of military glory has no food; and if the love of gain or other casual necessity did not operate a movement, it is reasonable to believe, that the volunteers, for military service, would, in ordinary circumstances, be few in number. The military character does not stand high in common estimation; and the example of the disbanded soldier, covered with wounds, instead of being an incentive to war, commonly operates a contrary effect. The old soldier often suffers from disease or pain, and is usually in poverty. Degraded, because he is poor, and sunk below the level of his fellow subjects, his military laurels have no attractive influence, and his tale of battles rarely inflames the young mind, to seek glory in the camp.

Domestic causes.

But

But, though the character of the English people be not directly of the military cast, indicating an ardor or enthusiasm for war, it still possesses a quality, probably resulting from manner and custom, which gives it advantages for military purposes, and which contributes materially to create coolness, command, and resolution in action, which few nations possess in the same degree. An Englishman is accustomed, from early youth, to enter the lists of combat, without personal enmity; to contend till he is overpowered; and to give in, when he discovers his inferiority,—an act of submission, which he confesses, without that sensation of shame and confusion, which characterizes his northern neighbour, under a similar failure. This practice in trial of strength, without passion or enmity, is almost peculiar to the people of England; and, to this may, perhaps, be imputed the possession of determined coolness, and the quality of giving up a contest, in the more serious conflict of war, without manifesting such vexation and despair, as create confusion, and lead to total route. The English recruit has thus a cool courage, either physically, or from institution; and, having this quality, he may be allowed to possess a valuable radical property in war.—In point of intelligence, he is inferior to many; and though powerful in actual force, he is not hardy in bodily constitution. He is accustomed to good living; and, expecting a certain condition of things to be present in military service, he does not submit cheerfully to privations; nor, from a similar cause, does he endure extraordinary toil patiently. But, with these defects, he is superior in power, honest and manly in sentiment, cool in action, and firm in courage. Such are his qualities, and such may be supposed to give great advantages to military officers in conducting military undertakings; for, as the powers are regular, and steady in

in operation, the extent of the exertion being known, the effect may be calculated with correctness.

The lowland *Scot*, viewed superficially, appears, upon the whole, to be inferior, at least less attractive in bodily qualities than the English. He is ordinarily of a lower stature, less full of flesh, and of a less powerful arm: the trunk is less ponderous; but the limbs are more sinewy and elastic. The manner of the Scot is uncouth, the countenance harsh. The complexion is usually less florid and delicate than that of his southern neighbour; but though less comely and attractive in appearance, the figure is hardy, and, as such, more military. This distinction, a great part of which seems to arise from diet, manner of living and customary occupation, wears out fast in the southern parts of Scotland;, but the traces of it are still observable. The English peasant has a proportionally greater weight of body, a heavier trunk, and, apparently greater physical power of arm; the Scotch more sinewy limbs, a frame of greater resistance,---better calculated to endure toil and support privation, though not of greater positive force. As the bodily qualities are not precisely alike, in the people who inhabit the opposite sides of the Tweed, so neither are the dispositions of mind. An Englishman meets an enemy in the combat with more deliberation, and preserves his temper, in action, better than the Scotchman. He is, and always has been, in the whole course of his history, more mechanical, more capable of discipline, and more dexterous in the use of missile weapons; but while more capable of discipline, he has less enterprise, less thirst after military glory, and less impetuosity in conflict. This quality of impetuosity, which, though it may fail in its object, and, so failing, terminate in discomfiture and route, often atchieves extraordinary things. When well directed, it is irresistible as a torrent.---It marks a difference of character,

Character contrast.

which still exists; a difference more the result of institution or primary education, customs and manner of life, than of radical distinction of race; for the southern part of Scotland, and the greater part of England have submitted to similar revolutions at different times, each country having admitted, into its bosom, a mixture of similar people, whether by conquest or by colonization. The materials are radically the same; but the pursuits and occupations have gone into different channels, and impressed upon the separate parts a marked difference of moral action. The English people, either imported industrious habits in their first migrations, or assumed them soon after the occupation of the country; for it is plain, that a certain form of agriculture, manufacture and commerce has been long pursued systematically in England, with a view to improvement and the professed acquisition of wealth. The Scotch genius was here dormant,—not directed to the embellishments, scarcely studious of the conveniences, of life. The tenure of lands in Scotland was in some measure feudal,---improvements in agriculture attracting no attention. It is within the memory of many now living, that the fields, north of the Tweed, were not cultivated with any other view, but that of producing subsistence in bread for the season. As there was little produce from the lands, exceeding the measure of consumption, there was consequently little trade. The domestic manufactures were chiefly such, as served the purposes of mere necessity;---the manufacture clumsy, but serviceable. A field, badly manured and clumsily worked, produced an inferior grain, which was made into a coarse bread; the cattle and sheep, which covered the hills, furnished milk for food, and wool for clothing. The state of society was pastoral, and such as is called barbarous by those, who esteem the art of stimulating and gorging animal appetite the refinement of life, and the ultimate aim of human genius.

Expan-

Expansion of mind or exercise of faculty, on objects of military glory, occupies a period in the history of almost every people, in the progress of their society. Such expansion arose among the Scotch, as among others; and various causes concurred to foster and prolong its duration. The Scotch of the southern district, even when there was truce between the kings of England and Scotland, were rarely at peace with their southern neighbours. If open war ceased, a war of depredation was continually going on, till the accession of James the VIth. Till the union, and even later than the union, the recollection, that the Scottish country had been invaded in former times, by the English, with a view to conquest, preserved a sentiment of resentment in the breast of the people; the picture of which, continually represented in popular ballads and romantic tales, retailed by every old man and old woman of the border counties, supported the martial spirit through the whole extent of the community. The resentment was strong; and the memory of the atchievements of Sir William Wallace and Robert, the Bruce, formed the principal incitement which fostered the resentment. The history of Sir William Wallace, till within these forty years, was the catechism of the Scottish youth, the torch at which Scottish courage was inflamed, desire for war kindled, and love of country warmed to enthusiasm. It was in short the manual, which communicated lessons of pride and national independence to the peasant. The history owes nothing of embellishment to the genius and art of the poet; but the tale, uncouthly told, makes impression from the interesting nature of the matter. Upon the Scottish peasant the impression is irresistible; for while the cause touches the heart, the picture is identified with scenes which are still to be traced. In times, that are recently past, the Scottish youth was wont to dwell with pleasure on the detail of the combats of Wallace,

Causes of military character.

to rise lofty in mind, as partaking of the renown of his victories, and to drop a tear of sympathy and resentment, at the manner of his death. The cause has now nearly ceased to act; but the impression of liberty and independence, which arose from this source, served formerly to foster a martial spirit among the Scottish youth, and to stamp their character with heroic sentiments in war.

The warlike spirit, which grew up in Scotland from the above form of institution, appears to have been further encouraged and supported, by the nature and condition of the society, in which the country, till lately, stood. A certain form of feudal tenure prevailed long in Scotland; and, whatever may be the evils of such a form of tenure, it cannot be denied, that its operation, in society, is warlike. If liberal in its condition, it serves to encourage and confirm a patriotic love of country; for it gives a limited inheritance of the soil to every one.--Man, it may be remarked, naturally venerates that which he has received from his ancestors, and cherishes that which he hopes to transmit to his posterity. The degree of attachment to paternal inheritance is not measured by absolute value; the bond is usually strong, where the quantum is small and circumscribed; it is weak or capricious, where the quantity is large and diffused. The principle, which directs man's conduct, in such cases, is even different. The peasant, sheltered from the piercing blast, is grateful for the protection of his hut; the meagre grain of his barren field, he receives as a bounty;---the heart is warm with gratitude; and thus warmed by gratitude, he is patriotic in principle. On the contrary, the lordly master of the superb mansion and wide domain believes, that all his possessions and all his blessings are the work of his own power. As he raised a mansion by the hand of power, he conceives that he adorns it by the dignity of his presence. He may draw his sword, as well

as

as the peasant, in the defence of his country; but he draws it from a different motive, and with a different feeling. With the one, it is the defence of property, valued and estimated as property; with the other, it is the defence of an abode dear by its familiarity, and venerated as an asylum. The one is ready to compromise the independence of his nation, for the secure possession of his acres and mansions; the other is ready to shed his blood, in protection of the soil which gives him food, and which covers the ashes of his fathers.

These causes and conditions operate upon the animal fabric, and the operation of such causes and conditions appears to constitute the feudal peasant a radical patriot. In this manner the tenure of land which obtained in Scotland, in the early part of last century, may be considered as a circumstance which contributed to modify the character of the Scottish peasantry. The possession of the lands was a species of permanent inheritance, in various degrees of gradation; and rents, which were paid, chiefly in kind, were merely as a tax upon the produce of labour; a mode of quittance, which exempted the tenant from that ravenous pursuit of money, for an extravagant and necessitous landlord, which prevails in more refined ages. The practice of farming was not then a trade, adopted by speculators in the hopes of accumulating wealth: the land was cultivated for subsistence in bread,---and it was rudely cultivated. As the science of farming was not understood, and agricultural labours were only necessary at particular seasons, the mass of the people was comparatively idle, during certain periods of the year: hence, as the hand had no occupation, the mind, which cannot be totally inactive, struck out into the first expanding action of the human understanding, which is more allied with ambition and war, than avarice and the practice of polished arts. It is thus perhaps, that, as the accidental condition of the tenure of land

land contributed materially to foster a love of country; so the primitive state of the society and accidental circumstances of situation, independently of institution, fostered the propensity for the pursuits of war.

In early times, when man was barbarous and simple in his manners, the heart was grateful. The affections, which were strongly bound to the place of birth, expanding in circles, extended around, so as to embrace the interests of the whole race. The custom of community of labour, which appears to have prevailed in Scotland in former times, spread good will and charity in different degrees of force, through the various circles of the society or nation. The people lived in clusters in sequestered vallies,—and the union was intimate. The right of pasturage, for sheep and cattle, was common in these townships or clusters of huts: the business which related to this concern was consequently in common. Such affairs occasioned intercourse; the society of the township was intimate, and, in a manner, domestic. But besides the ordinary intercourse of townships, there were particular seasons, where mutual aids in labour were more general and extensive. A provision of fuel is an important concern in every country of a northern latitude. Peat, a material which requires to be dug from the earth, and spread out with care, in order to be dried by the sun, is the common fuel of large tracts of country in Scotland. The process of getting it is laborious; but it was lightly borne, for there was generally a participation of labour, in such cases; and festive amusements were mixed, at such times, with the execution of the work. The heart was light, and satisfied, as making a provision against the cold of winter; and the eye looked to Heaven, with devotion and gratitude, in expectation of favourable weather to crown the labours with success. There was farther participation of work, and mutual aid, in the labours of hay time and harvest;

harvest; as there were certain days of *corvée*, or customary work, to the land proprietor, for similar purposes. At such times there was an assembly of the people of the village or township; and the meeting was distinguished by a round of amusements familiar in the primitive stages of society. The baneful influence of whisky had not then assumed dominion over the Scottish peasantry. The older persons were sober and chaste; they related tales of past times; the young contended in manly exercises, in running, in leaping, in wrestling, &c.—sports and amusements, a superiority in which gives pre-eminence, and pre-eminence secretly encourages the desire of trying the fortune in war. Such customs were common in early times, and such practices may be supposed to have encouraged a military spirit among the people; a spirit, which was even extended wider by the contentions of parishes with each other, in various sports and pastimes, on other occasions.

But, while a propensity for war and military atchievement was encouraged by the community of labour, which resulted from the nature of the tenure of land; and by the social disposition, connected with a state of society, when men lived more for the mutual aid of each other, than the ravenous desire of riches, centering wholly in self; there are other collateral causes which aided in the same purpose. The villagers were wont to assemble in the larger houses in the winter evenings, for the sake of amusement and communication of knowledge; for the Scotch peasant was always singularly inquisitive and greedy of information. This disposition, which is general, was often directed to precise military objects by the example of old soldiers, who had returned to their native homes, after the toil of years—spent in foreign service; or who travelled through the country, begging bread, or flying the ennui of a fixed abode.—A beggar is, necessarily, degraded; but an old soldier, asking bread,

bread, was formerly an exception in Scotland. He was usually received hospitably into the house of a principal farmer; his visit was even acceptable, and considered as a feast by the young men of the village, who collected round him, listened eagerly to his detail of battles, and gave faith to all his stories of romantic adventure in foreign countries. This was familiar in Scotland; for the Scotch were kind and charitable. They were poor; and, in common with the inhabitants of poor, particularly of pastoral countries, they were hospitable,—the mind open, and easily susceptible of impression, from the report of warlike atchievement. The case is now changed; they are commercial and rich; and like the inhabitants of rich countries, where arts prevail, and where commerce, which is a desire of gain, engrosses all the faculties, hospitality, or that grace of charity which bestows without offering insult, or testifying contempt, is rarely found.

But, as attachment to soil and native country seems to have sprung from the nature of the tenure of lands, and the customary bonds of union in primitive society; so military glory, as the natural passion of the pastoral state, was the predominant passion with the Scottish peasantry, and the leading feature of the gentry for many past ages. As the lowland Scot was naturally inclined to war, in consequence of the state of society in which he lived; so the moral education, and the impressions of religion, engrafted in his constitution at an early period of life, produced, directly or indirectly, the effect of promoting a zealous, a correct and principled execution of duty in the field of battle.—The Scotch are Calvinists; and Calvinists are predestinarians, who believe that every thing which happens, or which can happen, is ordained to happen; consequently, that life, guarded by one Providence, is equally secure in the heat of battle, as in the shades of peace. Such opinion influenced the conduct

conduct of the lowland Scot. It fortified the mind amid the dangers of war: hence the Scotch, who are enterprising and ardent in quality of national character, were courageous from education, and firm in action from a sentiment of religion. The Scotch, who till lately were pastoral, as a pastoral, were an idle people; for it was only in the course of last century, that they assumed the occupations, whieh lead to the acquisition of wealth. They did not, till within these few years, adopt the mechanical processes which multiply the effects of labour, nor did they penetrate the depths of mercantile speculations. But though they were not skilful in systematic trade and extensive manufacture, the mind had an expansive force,—a peculiar inquisitiveness in metaphysical science and philosophy;—it had a high energy and great chastity of moral sentiment from the time of the reformation. This chastity of sentiment and energy of mind, for which the Scotch peasant is eminently conspicuous, among the peasantry of other countries, is principally owing to the labours of the parish-ministers; a highly venerable body, than whom, no religious order, since the days of the apostles, has manifested a more purely christian disposition; and, than whom, no one has laboured more assiduously to preserve purity of religion, and good conduct among men; for the Scotch clergy not only preach, but practise in domestic life, the doctrines of Jesus Christ, which are the precepts of truth and moral virtue.

The Scotch are Calvinists in religion; and, as the religion of Calvin teaches a soldier, that, any endeavours he may use to avoid danger, while in the execution of his duties are not of avail, (for his fate is always in the hand of an over-ruling Providence,) so a sentiment of honor, engrafted in the constitution of the mind, by a system of public and domestic education, appears to have bound the native Scot to the defence of his colours upon principle, on most occasions. The education

which contributed to operate this effect was national, and in some degree systematic; for it was conducted under the eye of the clergy, as a national body. Its fundamental instruction enforced the duties of a pure religion; in which are comprehended truth and honor, the foundation, on which is built a soldier's fame. The principle of education, among the Scottish peasantry, was laid on sound foundations, under the eye of the parish minister; the application of it, in the practice of life, was kept in rule, by exposition to the eye of a small, but jealous community. A bad or disgraceful action could not be concealed in a cluster of cottages, in a sequestered valley; and, fortunately for morals, there was not at this time, any refuge in large cities, or manufacturing towns, from the reproaches of offended society. The character was thus preserved pure; for infamy had no hiding place. It may be observed on this occasion, that the cottage of the Scottish peasant was humble, even miserable in the eye of manufacturing and commercial refinement; but it was happy and interesting,—for the tenants were virtuous: the affections were warm, genuine and pure; and the youth, who had served in foreign countries as a soldier, sighed, when his service was performed, to return to this humble roof of his father, to receive the welcome of his friends—ashamed to return to that sacred abode---with a spot upon his honor. Virtue was thus esteemed on its own account; and virtue only was esteemed with the body of the Scottish nation, till the introduction of systematic farming, manufactures and trade turned all the energies to the acquisition of riches: riches were followed by their consequence—luxury, which absorbs all the faculties in pursuit of pleasure, and gratification of bodily sense.—It may be added, and the observation is striking, that Scotland has suffered a change of manners, within these last fifty years, such as was scarcely ever witnessed in any country, in so short a space of time. The fields, which

were

were bleak and barren, are now gay and smiling as gardens; the peasantry, who were uncouth and homely, are now elegant in manner, and gaily dressed,---the attire of foreign manufacture:—the outside is gilded most gaudily, the inside is dilapidated most miserably. Man is not now, as in former times, ashamed to be unjust, that is, to be bankrupt in trade; for bankruptcy marks a speculating spirit, and is only considered as the bad fortune of a gamester. A female is not ashamed to be unchaste; for she is not an outcast, or avoided as formerly: she finds refuge in a manufacturing town,---the asylum of vice. Such is the change. It is melancholy; but it is comprehended in the revolution of things; and it is accompanied with this effect, that the Scotch, though still possessing valuable qualities in war, cannot be said to be distinguished for the same extent of ardent mind and hardy body, as in times past. The love of riches has engrossed, or dissipated the faculties; the love of military fame is faint; and luxury, which pampers the body, weakening the power of resistance, has increased susceptibility for disease. The mode of society is also changed; townships are broken up; community of labour has gone into disuse; and the popular ballads, which were formerly current in all parts of the country, and which frequently had the effect to incite the youthful mind to volunteer military service, no longer live in the memory of the people. Love and martial atchievement were ordinarily the theme of the song; and, as the song, which recorded a chaste love, inspired a similar sentiment, the flame of love, lighted up in a pure breast, ennobled the mind, and exalted the courage; the lover courted the field of battle, as a theatre, on which he expected to meet with distinction. It is thus, that the breast of the Scottish peasant was frequently warmed with a sentiment of love; for love was often the subject of the popular songs; and the popular songs

were the pastime of the idle hours. A sentiment of love, for the sex, was common in the then circumstances of society. The case is natural; for it is in sequestered vallies, and country villages, that this passion fixes its pure abode. Love, when acting with force, and opposed by difficulties, hurried its votary to the army with a romantic impression; it led the young soldier to undertake bold and adventurous enterprizes, in order to obtain the favour, or fancied favour of a beloved mistress. The period alluded to is not long past. It belonged to a pastoral country, and while it existed, it marked an age of chivalry. The passion of love, while genuine and pure, was an incentive to military enterprize; the impression of love is a cause which adds to the energy of human action.

The Scotch in this barbarous or pastoral period, that is, before they became skilful farmers, industrious manufacturers, and speculating merchants, might be considered as possessing a character radically qualified for the purposes of war. The impression of the warlike sentiment was strong; military service was considered as giving distinction and pre-eminence among men; the circle of the society was narrow; the friendships were intimate; union in danger was cemented by principle; religion sanctioned the performance of duties; and, in such case, death had no terrors; the sentiment of honor, which was planted in youth, grew up with years, and was cherished as a passion. The Scotch, in this manner, were warlike in character; but their character, though brilliant, was not without alloy. The Scotch were eager in enterprize, for the sake of glory; but they were impetuous in action,—in some degree impassioned, and apt to commit themselves precipitately, from too great ardor. Impassioned, at the countenance of an enemy, they were eager to join in close combat. As they entered the list impassioned, and with an object individually in the eye

eye, a change of circumstances and positions, changing or disguising the object, necessarily occasioned disappointment. If the object was obscured, there was a blank in the mind; a stagnation in action; a panic, and, probably, a route ensued. This character of impetuosity appears to have frequently committed the Scotch to the chastisement of their more disciplined Southern neighbours: they were often out-generalled, and sometimes shamefully defeated in their former wars with the English;—not for want of prowess, but for want of temper: the character still adheres to them; for, as they did not in former times, so they do not even now, with all the advantages of modern discipline, retire coolly from a contest with a confession of inferiority.

The Scotch appear to possess, from a variety of concurring causes, a greater predilection for war than their neighbours of the South; and, though not superior in bodily strength, they bear the hardships of a military life better. Adventure is more congenial with their sentiments; and fatigues and self-denials, less foreign with their customs. When Scotland was more of a pastoral than agricultural country, the peasant, in his daily occupation, was familiarized with wind and rain. If wet with rain, he suffered no injury in his health: for the circumstance not being novel, the impression was but slightly felt. He considered it as no hardship to sleep, in the open air, in a furrow or ravine, without any other covering than that of a shepherd's plaid. Hence, he was accustomed, from early youth, with things similar to those of actual war. His fare, at his native home, was not so delicate, rarely so abundant as a soldier's fare in the service of a campaign. He thus felt no hardship, and he complained not of any. If well trained, he did not suffer sickness, proportionally, from the effects of climate, at least from the effects of cold and hunger, as those who were more delicately

cately fed, and more carefully nursed in their infant years. The Scot had thus a large share of the physical and moral properties which are valuable in military life; he still has a fair proportion, and, if well managed, and studied in his character, he proves himself, on all occasions, a soldier of the first quality.

The English and the lowland Scot are of the same class of people radically. They were distinguished, for some time, by a different modification of laws and government; and, consequently, manifested a modified difference of character. They are now under the same rule; and as they assimilate gradually to each other in their domestic manners, so they also approximate in their military qualities. The *Highlanders* are a different race. The Highlanders cherish the pride of not having submitted to the Roman arms which subjugated the rest of Britain; and amid the revolutions, which have repeatedly changed or mixed the inhabitants, and modelled the forms of government in Europe, the mountaineers of the North of Scotland pretend to a character of independence; for they continue to preserve their antient tongue, their ancient customs and manners in a state of apparent purity. Whether the present Highlanders of Scotland be a pure Celtic race, or a mixed race of Celts and Scandinavian Goths, is not easily determined. But be that question as it may, it may be fairly presumed, that the Celtic stock predominates, for the language is Celtic.

Independence.

In early times, even till lately, the tenure of lands in the highlands of Scotland was feudal; the life pastoral, and the character of the people warlike. The highlanders, dispersed in glens or sequestered vallies, arranged by tribes or clans pretending to the same origin, and warmed by the same blood, maintained a correspondence and intimate connexion with one another, through all the ramifications of the clan. This bond of

Manners.

of union operated strongly; and, as every clan, so constituted, was an independent society, subject to a chief or sovereign of its own, feuds and contentions arose between neighbouring clanships or neighbouring chiefs, in a similar manner, as wars arise between extensive kingdoms and powerful kings. The highlandlers were thus often engaged in petty wars and contentions; for an insult offered, or an injury sustained by an individual, was felt and resented, as an insult offered, or an injury sustained by the whole of the clan.

The remains of the Celtic poetry, which may be considered as the records of Celtic history in early times, serve to shew, that, as manners were not refined beyond the pastoral state, the chief occupation was hunting, and that feats in arms constituted the chief glory. To obtain a name in war, was, consequently, the general object of pursuit;---an object, if any credit be due to the song, sought more eagerly in the defence of friends, than in the aggression of foes. The warlike fame of the highlanders was high in this age of chivalry; for whoever Fingal may have been, or in whatever age he lived, it will be bold in any one to maintain, that he had not a real existence. Ossian appears to have drawn his pictures from the life. The pieces, ascribed to that bard, carry in their composition internal evidence of high antiquity; but the subject is referred, with greater probability of truth, to the inroads of the northern nations, than to the invasions of the Roman people. The date is however uncertain; and as the objects are not precisely defined, so as to be capable of being distinctly traced, the whole production has been considered as a fabrication of later times. There is consequently a controversy: the opinion of the authenticity has been supported on one hand with prejudiced zeal, rather than enlightened by candid investigation; it has been impugned on the other, by the authority

Antient manners.

of

of a learned man, who had no knowledge of the subject; for the authority quoted, being ignorant of the Celtic language, did not possess any competent means of information in the case. It cannot be deemed a proof, that the poems ascribed to Ossian did not exist, because they were not committed to writing; as the fact, known to persons but moderately acquainted with the Celtic tongue, that they might have been better translated, in several respects, than they are, may be considered as no despicable proof, that they are not the original work of Mr. Macpherson.—The proof or disproof of the authenticity of these sublime compositions does not belong to this place; but the matter is interesting, and, by its interesting nature, has seduced into digression. The picture of life there described is primitive; the characters simple and warlike; the sentiments generous and noble. Such characters flourished in the last century under a garb, which, those, who pursue commerce, and who estimate the excellence of man by the progress which he makes in the enervating arts of luxury, term barbarous. The traces of it are not yet entirely obliterated; but they become faint; for the causes, which produce what is falsely called refinement, extend their baneful operation to the remote highlands, decorating the outside, and undermining the internal heroic fabric of the mind.

Society. The clans or tribes, who possessed the northern highlands, and spoke the Celtic tongue, do not appear, in early times, to have had intimate connexion or submissive dependence on the crown of the lowland or Pictish part of Scotland. The chiefs possessed a species of sovereignty, and, till lately, a feudal jurisdiction of life and death. The interests of clans or tribes sometimes clashed with each other; and chiefs went to war with chiefs, as feudal lords or sovereigns, without communication with the Scottish crown. As they possessed a species of sovereignty

reignty in power, they maintained, in appearance, the state and dignity of sovereign chiefs. The style and manner of society were different from the style and manner of the present times. They were such as are esteemed barbarous; the exterior was simple or rather rude; but the mind, or interior, had a cast of high elevation. The Highlander was noted for hospitality, generosity, and warmth of friendship. His devotion to the chiefs and leaders of the clan was perfect; but it was not the servility of a crouching slave. It was enthusiastic, engrafted in sentiment, as that of a son, attached to a father by filial love, and reverencing a high authority from pre-eminence of station. The clan was of one blood, and as such, it was held together by one connexion. All the members owed submission to the chief; but, in their own opinion, to no power superior to the chief. Every member of the clan was devoted to the chief. The meanest subject of the clan considered the cause of the chief, as the cause of himself, fostering it with a pride and warmth of affection, which gave one colour to all his views, and one direction to all his actions. Moved by this sentiment, the attack of the Highlanders was impetuous in battle; and, as the parts were united in their action by internal sympathies, the impulse was irresistible where the force was applied skilfully. The mind of a band of Highlanders, united, in one object, by union of view; the parts, composing the band, concentrating force by judicious arrangement according to connexion in mind and corresponding exertion of power in body, presented the picture of an instrument, which, moved to action, stimulated to exertion, and supported in application by a national impulse (the high sounding tones of the bagpipe,) produced an effect, scarcely to be withstood by any thing in human form,—even under the most perfect arrangement of military tactic. The bagpipe, a military instrument, in some

manner peculiar to the Highlanders of Scotland, is singularly powerful and peculiarly adapted to rouse the courage. The deep tones of the pibrach strike the inmost fibres of the frame, by their force; while the Celtic style of composition, manifesting superior knowledge of the human heart, produces effects upon the passions, which few, if any other compositions are capable of producing. A charge of battle, sounded by this instrument, rapidly and impetuously absorbs all the distracting cares and sensibilities concerning self, denominated fears, inflames the courage to enthusiasm, and rivets the mind to the point of glory. In common circumstances, the sound of the bagpipe transports the Highlander with joy; in war it renders him insensible of danger.

Race. The Highlanders, speaking a different language from the inhabitants of the lowlands of Scotland, are considered as a distinct, and, by many, as a pure unmixed race. The peculiarity of language pronounces them to be the remains of an ancient people; but the inequality of size and form, observable

Figure. in different clans or parts of clans, favours the opinion, that they have, at some time, received a foreign mixture,—a mixture, more probably, conqueror than vassal. The Highlanders are unequal in size. Some are tall and erect, moving with a dignified and majestic step. The greater number are of a low stature, of a clumsy form, compact and firm, rather than elegant and graceful. The aspect, upon the whole, is warlike; the figure formidable in military array,—not attractive by the fashionable graces of its movement. The countenance, for the most part, is strongly marked; the face broad; the cheek bones high; the visage manly and stern, rather than comely and pleasing; the features are harsh; the skin coarse, and without those delicate tints of colour which embellish the cheek of the people of the southern parts of the island. But if the highlander be not so smooth,

smooth, so plump and elegant as his southern neighbour, his limbs are strong, and his joints are well knit. He is a hardy animal, possessing a high share of physical power of constitution; he endures cold, hunger and fatigue; possesses a pride of mind, which does not permit him to acknowledge a hardship; or, he does not feel, as hardship, such inconveniences as are wont to annoy and distress those, who are nursed in luxury and ease. The movement of the common highlander is not graceful; the step is short, with an interchange of pace from walking to a trot or running motion; but, though the movement be not graceful, it is always animated; and long journies are performed with little apparent fatigue, probably, in part owing to the frequent interchange of pace accommodated, by habit, to the inequalities of ground.

Military character.

The highlander is known, and acknowledged to possess a pre-eminence of courage and many valuable qualities in war, supposed to be the product of circumstances of local situation, state of society, customs, manners and tacit institution. The highlanders, divided into clans or tribes, collected in glens or vallies by the side of streams or rivulets, are intimately united by the circumstances of local situation: their friendships are warm and ardent; their resentments strong at the source, and communicable with energy through the whole chain of connexion, as depending on sympathy from local situation, or from blood. The organs of sense, not being exposed to a varied impression of objects in these sequestered abodes, the force of such as do present themselves is strongly felt,---for the organ is susceptible. If the impression be often repeated, and it necessarily is often repeated in defect of variety, a form of action becomes engrafted in the constitution of the frame, creating a habit, positive and established as a law of nature. Hence highland soldiers, who have been born, and who have grown up

under those favourable circumstances, marshalled for action by clans, according to ancient usage, led on by chiefs, to whom they are devoted, and acting upon a subject, the extent of which they see and comprehend, may be calculated to return victorious, or to die in the grasp of the enemy. It is admitted, that Scotch highlanders have a courage, devoted to honor; they have also an impetuosity, which, if not well understood and skilfully directed, is liable to commit them to discomfiture,---even to destruction. Whether discipline may, in time, succeed in forming them to move sluggishly by routine, in the channel of mechanical tactic, further experience must determine; but it is scarcely to be expected, from what is already known, that highlanders, failing in their object, will retire from the contest, coolly, deliberately and in correct order. The mere mechanical soldier, if such a one has ever been formed in perfection, has no object of his own. He advances or retires with uniform apathy---in victory or in defeat. A highlander acts from a sentiment, and, consequently, has an object of his own, acting upon his own mind. His eye is fixed upon it; he rushes towards it, seizes it, and proclaims victory. There is thus, a cause standing prominent in his eye, which may be said to whet his courage, and determine his action. If it be hid from his view, or guarded from his grasp by an unsurmountable barrier, the movement stagnates; or, by a natural consequence in physics, it recoils with force. It is thus that ardor in the onset, missing or failing of the object which excites it, is bewildered in the excess of agitation. The senses are paralysed, or the action assumes a form of panic: the steps retrograde, and retrograde movement, under the circumstances described, speedily degenerates into route. The character of ardor belongs to the highlander; he acts from an internal sentiment; and possesses a pride of honor, which does not permit him to retire from danger with

with a confession of inferiority. This is a property of his nature; and, as it is so, it becomes the business of officers, who command armies or detachments of highland troops, to estimate the national character correctly, that they may not, through ignorance, misapply their means, or misplace their instruments; and, thereby, concert their own misfortune and ruin. If ardor be the characteristic of highlanders, it is evident, that highlanders are not troops calculated for mechanical manœuvres, demonstrations and encounters with a view to diversion; for, unless the purpose be previously explained, and understood in its full extent, the highlander darts upon the enemy with impetuosity, rushing into close action, where it was only intended to amuse. He does not brook disappointment,---sustain a galling, distant fire with coolness, or retire, from an enterprize, with temper. He may be trusted to cover the most dangerous retreat, assigned to him as a duty;---a retreat, in consequence of his own failure, is likely to degenerate into a route. In action, the highlander requires to see his object fully; he then feels the impression of his duty, and acts animatedly and consistently,---more from impression and sentiment, than from the external impulse of command; for, when an enemy is before the highlander, the authority of the officer may be said to cease.

Different nations have different excellencies or defects in war. Some excel in the use of missile weapons; the power of the highlander lies in close combat. Close charge was his ancient mode of attack; and, it is probably from impression, engrafted in his nature, in consequence of the national mode of war, that he still sustains the approaching point of a naked weapon, with a steadier eye, than any other man in Europe. Some nations turn with fear from the countenance of an enraged enemy; the highlander rushes towards it with ardour; and if if he can grasp his foe, as man with man, his courage is secure;

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it is less to be depended on in a distant combat;---and it is not proof against the threatenings of cavalry.

The highlanders are social in civil life,---their habits convivial, even to excess. The enterprizes of war are usual themes of conversation; and, as the annals of the clans are full of warlike atchievements,---the heroic actions of Fingal, or the feats of distinguished chiefs in later times—there is no defect of matter. The language of the peasant highlander is lively and impressive; his conversations are a picture; the memory of things, long past, painted in such lively colours in his discourse, as if he had himself been present in the scene. Where the senses are not distracted by variety of object, impressions act with force, and ideas grow up strong in vigorous capacities. The highlanders, in this manner, looking daily on war and the enterprizes of war with interest and animation, acquire radical ideas of the military art. Without design or formal intention, this germ of military education, planted in the first years of life, assumes a fair growth among these northern Scots; for, as objects of war and warlike enterprize command, more than other objects, the exertions of the thinking faculty, the highlanders, formed with sound minds, and susceptible of good impressions, discover more natural military sagacity than any other class of people in the kingdom, perhaps than any other people in Europe.

Domestic. Besides the social habit and military bias, peculiar to the inhabitants of the highlands of Scotland, and which influences the character in the progress through life, the close union of society, in the glens and sequestered vallies, served to encourage a close and intimate love of the sex. This may be supposed to have been generally pure and genuine; it was ardent and romantic: such was the picture of love in the song: and as love had been pure in former times, the record of it engendered its kind in succeeding generations. The fame of warlike glory was the

the leading passion of the highlander. Martial music, love and song, and the exercise of hospitality were the business of life. The scene was simple; but it was not gross; for, though the exterior was homely, the sentiment was refined. The different branches of the clan, united by blood, paid a submissive devotion to the chief; the chief, considering, even the remote parts as parts of himself, held the whole by the bond of affection, not less than by the constraint of authority. But, as the inhabitants of the highlands of Scotland, consisted of independent tribes, with clashing interests and hostile views, feuds and jealousies arose among them, and wars frequently disturbed the quiet of the highlands. The highlanders were brave individually, as united intimately and closely in clans; but from jarring interests, as independent tribes, they were less capable of the union, which is necessary in the action of large armies. They thus fought unequally; and in the year --45, which was their greatest enterprize---the enterprize where they were more united than ever they had been, their opinions were still divided,---and division was the rock upon which they split.

The highlanders, in relation with their southern neighbours, were considered as free-booters,---barbarians, given to spoil and plunder. In former times, the charge had some appearance of truth; for the lowlanders were considered as a hostile or strange people; and, it was not comprehended in the creed of the highlanders, more than it is in the practice of more refined modern warfare, to respect an enemy's property. They levied contributions on some occasions, and committed outrages on others. But, though they drove the cattle of a hostile tribe, or ravaged a lowland district, with which they had no connexion or bond of amity, their conduct, in the year --45, proves that they are neither a ferocious nor a cruel people; for no troops probably ever traversed a country, which might be esteemed

hostile,

hostile, with fewer traces of outrage. They are now better known; their character is conspicuous for honesty and fidelity. They possess the most exalted notions of honor, the warmest friendships, and the highest portion of mental pride of any people, perhaps, in Europe. Their ideas are few; but their sentiments are strong,---their virtues, principles in their nature.

Condition in the service.

Another, and a very considerable part of the materials of the British army, is drawn from *Ireland*. As Ireland was not, till very lately, united to Great Britain in government, so as to form an integral part of the British empire, the Irish soldiers, prior to the union, might be considered, in some degree, as foreigners in the British service. As foreigners, it would be unfair, in estimating their military qualities, to judge them by the rule, which is applied in forming judgment of the natives of England and Scotland; for, as they had not any incentive, stimulating them to acts of enterprize, or supporting them in a course of heroic conduct, as members of the British empire, their exertions could not be expected to be zealous, animated and consistent, as the exertions, which originate from the operation of national glory, are supposed to be. And farther, as they had not the same incentive to stimulate them to action, as the natives of England and Scotland; so they had not the same chance of obtaining praise, for the brilliant actions which they might perform; their glory was absorbed, and usually placed to the credit of the British army, with which they were partially mixed.---As the Irish enters the British army, under less advantageous circumstances, than the English or Scotch recruit; and, as he possesses more eccentricity and caprice of character than either, more knowledge of human nature is required to discern the motives, which move his mind and bring his powers usefully into action. Such good fortune rarely falls to his lot; and

and he is, thus, rarely turned to such account, as might be made of him. But, though he may not rise to his due elevation in common circumstances of service, it must still be admitted, from the character which the Irish brigade obtained in the service of France, in the time of the French monarchy, that the Irishman is capable of considerable military eminence. The brigade alluded to was superior in estimation to the native troops; it stood next to the Swiss among the foreign. Besides this it may be remarked, that the Inniskilling, or 27th,—the purest Irish regiment in the British service, is eminent in military reputation,—not inferior, perhaps, in exertion in the field of battle, to any regiment in the British army.

In point of size, the Irish peasant is equal to the peasant of England; he is superior, in bulk, to the Scot; particularly to the highlander. The form or configuration of body has a shade of difference in appearance,—and the mind has a marked peculiarity of character. The trunk of the body is ordinarily less ponderous than the trunk of the English peasant; the limbs are proportionally larger,—the legs clumsy and frequently unsound. The ancle is thick and fleshy; the veins large and often varicose; the skin marbled, easily broken, and, when broken, not easily healed:—this, probably, arises from the continued application of the heat of peat fires upon the shins. The figure of the Irish peasant, compared with that of the English countryman, is uncouth; the muscles swell out, marking an imprinted action, which is not obscured by a covering of fat. The traces of the action are conspicuous; but the texture of the muscle is less compact and firm than in the Scotch peasant, particularly, than the texture of the muscle in the Scotch highlander. As the figure of the Irish is equal in volume to that of the English peasant, superior perhaps to that of the Scot; so the compass of exertion is not inferior to that of either. In running, in Figure.

ing, in wrestling; in fact, in the whole round of athletic exercises, which mark the powers of exertion, the Irish is probably entitled to the claim of superiority; for the Irish, as an idle people little given to the pursuits of trade, manufacture and industrious arts, pass their idle hours in ball-playing, cudgelling, contentions in running, jumping, wrestling, and such like pastimes, as call forth and improve the active powers of the body. Such exercises are preparatory of war; and, in this manner, the Irish may be fairly supposed to have a balance of advantages over the peasantry of England, even over the peasantry of Scotland in the present times; most decidedly over the manufacturers and artisans of either country.

Manners and habits.

The Irish is accustomed, in his native home, to live on the homeliest fare. Hence, he rarely complains of hard living in the hardest of military services. He is loosely and badly clothed; the body is consequently exposed to weather in the usual round of ordinary occupations. It may be presumed, that he suffers little from similar exposure in the service of the field; for it presents no novelty. The climate in which he is born, and in which he grows up, is wet and drizzling. He is thus familiar with moisture; and he lives, with impunity in an atmosphere, which would be injurious to a native of a drier country. In short, the Irish peasant, inured to homely fare, and rude accommodation in his native land, is rarely found to complain of those grievances, or suffer from those hardships, which disgust the luxurious, or which derange the health of those who have been delicately and tenderly nursed. On this ground, he possesses, radically, a large share of the physical advantages which are useful in the practice of war.

The bodily powers of the Irish peasant are well adapted for the purposes of war. They are uniform in action, as physical powers; depending on the action of physical causes, their operations

rations are calculable, and easily understood. The operations of mental action are not so uniform and consistent, the effects frequently appearing to be capricious,—and the rule of calculation uncertain. The native Irish and highlander of Scotland are, reasonably, supposed to have sprung from the same stock: their language is the same; but the bodily figure, whether varied by climate or other cause, does not appear as if it were cast in the same mould, and the leading features of the mental character are strikingly different. The native Irish, of all people in Europe (French not excepted) are the most easily impressed by fluctuating objects: they are moved suddenly to an enterprize; and, they as suddenly abandon their design, with the collision of another impulse. They are people of acute perceptions. They are idle, and, as such, exposed to external impressions, their conduct is capricious; inasmuch as the causes, which act upon the organs of sense, fluctuate arbitrarily. The highlander is a contrast. Not so easily impressed, by the action of fluctuating causes, he is staunch and determined in his purposes: his conduct originates in a rooted sentiment; that of the Irishman more frequently in the momentary impulse of sensation---a transient flight, rather than a sentiment. The key of movement in the Irishman's organism is delicate; it requires to be touched by the hand of a master, in order to sound a true note: it requires to be retouched frequently, that it may continue to sound; for its vibrations are soon obscured by other interruptions. The organism of the Irish, being thus easily susceptible of fluctuating and transitory impressions, a perpetual fluctuation and successive application of such impressions render the conduct fluctuating and capricious. Hence it is, that errors in conduct are frequent,---seemingly from forgetfulness, rather than from design;---that is, the Irishman appears unthinking oftener than vicious. The movements turn upon a Character.

ticklish balance; and, upon this principle, the great propensity to desertion, which is almost uniformly observed among soldiers of the Irish nation, is physically accounted for. From a modification of a similar susceptibility in the mechanism of the organs, an explanation is also obtained of a known fact, that, the Irish recruit learns military exercises and manœuvres, comprehended in military tactic, sooner than either English or Scotch; and farther, that, while he learns exercises sooner, he also sooner forgets. He is a more expert scholar; but he must always be treated as a scholar;---he stagnates in his course, or, he goes astray, when left to himself.

There is so much apparent inconsistency in the conduct of the native Irish, as ridicules, upon a superficial view, all idea of action upon a reasoned principle. The Irish, at all times, acute in sense, appear, at one time, generous, heroic and amiable; at another, perfectly the reverse. The actions are in direct opposition to each other; but they are relative to condition of subject, and they hang fundamentally upon the same chain.

Circumstances of conduct.

The Irish possess an acute sense; and they act in obedience to the impulse of impression upon the organs of sense. The nature of the impulse changes, and the action changes its aspect. The conduct thus appears to be capricious and inconsistent, if judged by a principle established on general reasons. If reprehensible, as it is on many occasions, it is but fair to admit, that the motives, encouraging correct conduct, are fewer with the Irishman than with most other people. It is evident to the apprehension of the meanest capacity, that the nation or people, which does not possess command of itself, in its political relations with others, cannot, generally or individually, possess sentiment or pride of mind; whilst sentiment or pride of mind is the only quality which is capable of giving dignity to

to conduct, and of ensuring consistent action, through all the trials of life. The man, on the contrary, who possesses independence, is master of himself and of his actions. If just in his nature, he remains in his sphere---acting justly, or doing to others as he would that others do unto him. If unjust, or ambitious, he aims at extending his bounds; and he does it by force. If he does not possess such power, as is capable of imparting to his mind the sentiment of independence, his action is under constraint; and, as he cannot extend his sphere by force in an open manner, his efforts, by a necessary consequence, turn into the channel of cunning and deceit. It is an obvious fact, that there is a natural propensity, in the constitution of the animal fabric, to extend its bounds and consolidate acquisition; where it possesses power, it effects it by open and manly means; where power is wanting, it attempts it by secret and insidious arts. The native Irish, dispossessed of paternal inheritance, and not admitted to an equal participation of civil and religious rights with the other subjects of the government, may be supposed, in the first instance, to feel an impression of injustice. Thus impressed with a sense of wrong, and restrained, by force, from an open course of redress; the subsequent movement, by a natural effect in the laws of organization, physical or moral, strikes out into the crooked paths of fraud and circumvention. The Irish, forced into this devious path by a kind of physical necessity, are fortified by a religious cause in the continuance in error, even in the commission of crime. The priest acquits them from blame in the transgression of what they would otherwise consider as inviolable. This is often exemplified; for the recruit or rebel holds his oath of allegiance as a small restraint upon his conduct.

Recruits.

The Irish fill the ranks of the army in time of war. They are an idle people, much under the impulse of sense; they rally to the

Recruits.

the sound of a recruiting drum, as to the notice of a broil. Attracted by novelty, and allured by bounties or high bribes of money, they enrol themselves for military service without hesitation. Their perceptions are acute; and they soon discover that the carcase, properly managed, may turn out a profitable commodity of traffic. Having enlisted for soldiers, as tempted by high bounties, they learn, by their own observation, that certain inabilities or bodily defects, marking unfitness for military service, are the cause of rejection from the ranks. They feign sickness, or they inflict a malady which ensures the purpose of rejection. They regain health, or dissemble defects, receive another bounty, and practise a similar deceit, or declare the existence of a bodily condition which renders them unfit for military life. This round of deception is repeated so often, between ignorance and eagerness on one part, cunning, and address on the other, that many, were they as economical of the money they obtain, as they are dexterous in the practice of the arts by which they obtain it, might realize a moderate competency by the repeated sale of the carcase.

Cause of deception and revolt.

It is somewhat curious; and it may be deemed a problem in the history of the human mind, that the Irish peasant, apparently unthinking, or acted upon by an immediate impulse upon sense, should pursue a system of fraud and deception with address and constancy, through a long series of adventures; or, that a people, so lightly affected, and acting so capriciously, in the common affairs of life, as the Irish are known to do, should pursue emancipation, through a series of years, and against a barrier of obstacles, contrived by an enlightened and executed by a powerful nation. In the first case it may be observed, that the design of fraud and deception is constantly fostered by the allurement of gain. Recruiting is considered as a job; and all the energies are employed to make a good bargain. The

The one party believes it no crime to sell himself as often as he can, and to as good advantage as he can; the other is not always sufficiently scrupulous and cautious. The wits are at work on both sides; and the contest may be considered as a trial of skill, in which the acuteness of the Irishman frequently prevails. In the case of emancipation or revolt, the Irishman seems to be acted upon by secret agents, lying in wait to move the springs of action at the fittest times. The Irishman is naturally susceptible of impression; the cause of his grievance presents itself to his eye daily; for his mind has not been turned from it nationally, by being directed into new channels. The fields, which belonged to his ancestors, are still before his eye; the cabin, in which his immediate ancestor lived, and in which he himself was born, still exists to receive his shivering carcase at night. He feels what he is; and the scenes before him put him in mind of what he might have been,—a lord, instead of a vassal. In this susceptible state of mind, he is easily moved; and, acted upon skilfully, he rises up speedily in rebellion. In these movements, he sometimes discovers high traits of heroism; for, though he has not the consistent sentiment, peculiar to an independent man, he has a sense of honor, which, touched by the hand of a master, produces specious and brilliant acts. This spirit of revolt has been occasionally higher or lower; lulled, for a time, it has seldom been entirely at rest; and it cannot, perhaps, be eradicated entirely, till a revolution of manners has been effected by the force of new habits. To accomplish this change will require all the wisdom, foresight and energy of the legislature. To make men frugal, virtuous and just in principle, in which case they are always good subjects, is not an easy task. It does not produce a brilliant effect which dazzles the world; and it is rarely pursued with ardor. It is more easy,—the effect

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is even more splendid and attractive, to open the gates of ambition, which flatters vanity; or to encourage adventurous speculations in trade, which holds out alluring baits of riches. The possession of riches engenders luxury, or devotion to the appetites of sense. The sensual, as slaves of appetite, are obedient, and dependent on the power which fosters and protects them in the enjoyment of their gratifications. Hence there scarcely exists in history an example of resistance against governments, on the part of those, who float in the stream of luxury. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that if the Irish were removed from the immediate abodes of their fathers, separated from their connexions, directed to pursuits of gain, stimulated by variety of food, so as to be captivated with the pleasures of the table; or acted upon by the gaudiness of attire, so as to be delighted with ornaments of dress, (which is the more general and more effectual allurement,) they might soon forget that they were once lords of Ireland; the descendants of O'Neale might become orderly and mechanical instruments in the great machine of manufacturing and commercial concerns,---instruments of the pleasures of others, and votaries themselves of refined pleasures of sense.

The British army, composed principally of the three nations, English, Scotch, and Irish, combined by chance, or as circumstances of necessity direct, rather than by a rule of systematic arrangement according to the radical qualities of the parts, presents a mixture of opposite ingredients, thrown together in different corps, in different proportions. Whether such a composition is capable of attaining the highest military excellence, which the materials, differently arranged, might attain, must be left to the decision of better judges. It is only intended to notice, in this place, the properties of the respective classes. The application in organization and discipline belongs

longs to those who possess authority.---Of the three nations, which form the basis of the army, the English is the most comely in appearance, but not the most military in aspect; equal, if not superior in power to either of the other, he is inferior in hardiness and in endurance of toil. As he is better fed, more carefully nursed, and more cautiously guarded against the influence of weather, in all the processes of his life, than the others, he is necessarily more susceptible of the action of the causes of disease arising from these sources; his health is consequently less secure, where such causes of disease abound. He is mechanical in action, cool in temper: the pledge of his military duty is connected with its reasonableness; as the cordial execution of it implies the existence of such condition;---a circumstance, which notes a radical sentiment of independence peculiar to the English people; the motive of action being always a demonstrative reality. The Scot is hardy in body; but he is impetuous in action, passionate in temper, enthusiastic, interested in the cause of others, as if he were himself the principal, bound to his duty by an innate sentiment, probably visible only to himself. The Irish is moved to action suddenly by an operation upon the organs of sense: the impression does not grow into a sentiment; the rule of conduct is consequently capricious and uncertain: the movement is irregular, subject to stagnate, or to fly off unexpectedly with the collision of other causes; but, where skilfully animated and well directed, the energy of the Irish soldier is not inferior in force, to that of either of the other parts of the army.

Military character of the three nations.

SECTION XVII.

American.

IT may be expected, in an estimate of military character, that the American people, who have established themselves in independence against the will, and in spite of the armed force of a powerful parent state, should appear among the nations who have distinguished themselves in war. The issue of the American contest did not answer the expectations of statesmen, accustomed to calculate effect according to regular mechanical rule deciding the fate of battles. The American people resisted a nation powerful in arms, while they were themselves ignorant and feeble. They are now independent; and they probably will be considered by posterity, as having effected a great achievement by their own prowess. To those who have gained some knowledge of the case from actual observation, and who take the trouble to trace effects to their just causes, the result appears to have been more owing to bad management on one part, than to great exertion on the other. The military means, employed by the parent state to check the revolt of the American provinces, were more than sufficient to have made a desert of America; but, though the force of the British army was strong enough to have burned the towns and ravaged the lands, it was not capable of subjugating a people, who, not confined by a barrier in the rear, had the means of escaping to the woods and covered country, who had the resolution to forego connexion with Europe, and the determination to live free behind the mountains. With such determination the Americans might have been invincible against the

Causes of success.

the best efforts of the British arms; but their determination was not put to the test. The plan of subjugation did not proceed upon a consistent view; and the end was abortive from the defects of the plan. There was, in this case, neither uniform rigor, nor uniform kindness: the mixture of qualities produced a neutral effect; neither the impression of fear, which subjugates by force; nor the impression of love, which binds by affection.

The Americans had not, at the commencement of the war, a regular army, scarcely indeed a military force organized in any form. The structure of civil society, in America, was not then favorable to the growth and perfection of mechanical discipline; for mechanical discipline implies rigor and constraint, and the American ideas, at that time, floated in the wilds of liberty. But the Americans, though not susceptible of such perfection of mechanical discipline, as gives expectation of success in systematic war, were well qualified for the desultory and irregular mode of warfare suited to the American country: the habits and common occupations in life had given a preliminary education for the practice. In America, almost every man knew the use and power of fire arms; many were expert in the use of the rifle. As there were here, contrary to what takes place in Europe, no restrictions against killing game attaching to the meanest of the peasants, so the greater proportion of the countrymen spent their idle time in hunting, or in shooting birds and wild beasts. In the course of these amusements or occupations, they became acquainted with the nature of ground and the qualities of position: They were thus, in a certain degree, initiated in partizan war: they trusted chiefly to the mode of combat acquired in this school, and, to this mode, they owe the success which they occasionally obtained. They were novices in mechanical tactic, or

practice of evolution; and they had little confidence in themselves in close combat. They did not acquire the power of firing with the same celerity and precision in time as the trained battalions of European armies; but they fired with better direction than any of them. They supported an open and plain combat, apparently with courage, and evidently with effect in a secure position, at a reasonable distance. They moved off precipitately, when the flanks were turned; or where the close charge was threatened with the bayonet. This was their character; it may be supposed to have resulted from education and habit. The military virtues of the Americans consisted in skill in the use of fire-arms; this skill arose from the habits of their life. Accustomed to circumvent, and to shoot their prey from behind cover, they felt the impression, were afraid of being circumvented themselves, and moved off precipitately at the appearance of such attempt practised against them. The prey, which they were accustomed to hunt, being of the timid kind, they did not, from the habit of hunting, acquire courage to face an enemy boldly. Close combat was their aversion;---it was foreign to their habits. The rifle, or naked firelock, was the common weapon with which they were familiar; the sight of a bayonet, advancing in charge, occasioned a retrograde movement; for, presenting a new appearance, threatening danger, they were more disposed to avoid than to resist its impression.

If the merit of the American people be estimated in a military point of view, it will not be found to stand very high, even in desultory or partizan war. The Americans were soldiers from necessity, not from genius or inclination. They had little military enterprize in their nature; and they made little, if any progress in the art scientifically. In some few instances, they appeared to advance boldly to action; but they maintained no combat

combat obstinately. The cover of a bank, a rail, or tree was necessary to inspire confidence. They fought in security, and retired with comparatively little loss, when the danger pressed. They dispersed, or split and squandered, according to the idiomatic phrase, and rallied at a distant point in the rear.

An attempt to encroach upon property was the ostensible cause of the resistance of the American people. Defence of the right of disposing of property was the signal, which roused and inflamed the contest. It produced an union of the states; but the basis was mercantile and interested,—liable to be broken by a presentation of greater advantages. It however served the purpose on the present occasion: the Americans stuck together, and the independence of America was acknowledged. The Americans are now independent, holding a rank among nations; but it is probable that they must submit to another revolution, before they attain eminence in military station. The career commenced with an object of commercial grandeur in view: it has no chance of reaching the goal of military glory; for military glory is not in its course.

Conclusion.

The preceding hasty and imperfect sketch of the military character of nations teaches the important truth, that the rude energy of man, in his emerging state, usually triumphs over the resistance of man, aided by science, but weakened by artificial refinement; success, in war, owing more to the power of the arm, to the rude, but firm conception of the mind, than to the refinements of science and skill in military tactic. It may be observed in illustration of this, that the Romans, who made extensive conquests in war, and who maintained their conquests longer than any other people, known in the records of European history, continued longer, than any other, making progressive improvement in military science,—an effect, principally due to the practice of a form of discipline, so contrived as

as to communicate interest to the soldier, individually, in his professional pursuit. The practice impressed an opinion, that knowledge in the use of arms was conducive to safety. The operation was felt in the exercise; the exercise called forth a desire of higher improvement, as a cause of success contributing to glory. On the contrary, where military tactic degenerates into a mechanical routine of studied motions, the manual exercise into a movement of instruments of missile force, cadenced in exact correspondence of time, as attracting the eye and ear by synchronous exhibition, there is more of restraint than of free exertion in the operation. It is by acts of exertion, chiefly exertion of power, that man is animated and interested in the first instance. If interest be weak or wanting, as must be the case where exertion is not excited, and utility not felt by a demonstration of effect, the soldier learns movements compulsively, and performs them regularly like an automaton—correctly in time, not energetically in purpose. If final success, in war, is to be the object of military pursuit, the temper, and energy of the acting parts in their individual capacity, must be estimated and known, as well as the systematic arrangement. The fundamental virtue of an army resides in the essence of the material; the principle of organization arranges and combines parts according to their capacities; discipline inures the fabric in movement. As it is in the temper of the parts, proved by trial, that the real value of the military instrument consists; so, if the temper be not proof in trial, though the adjustment be externally correct, the operation will not be harmonious in action, nor decisive in effect. In this case, as in others, there is often a counteraction in human affairs, arising from the ingenuity of man. Science bestows a garb of form and order upon the military fabric; its operation often detracts from the spirit which animates. To engraft order upon spirit constitutes the per-

perfection of military education; the rule of education must therefore rest upon an intimate knowledge of the physical and moral character of the parts.

Energy of spirit, or military enterprize is a quality of the early stage of society. It vanishes from nations, in proportion as they become polished or refined. Where objects are often presented; but not presented with such force and impression as to stamp a character and form a sentiment, they are regarded with indifference, as possessing no charm of novelty. It is therefore wise, as it is useful, to give occasionally a new form to the military fabric externally, without changing foundations which are laid in truth. Success, in war, is often observed to follow the employment of a new mode of tactic. Two causes probably operate in the case supposed. New modes interest by their novelty, communicating an energy which prompts the execution of an effective purpose. As they amuse and entice the one party into a course of activity; so they astonish and deceive the other into timidity;—for the power is unknown, and men fear that which they do not clearly know. This impression of novelty has given a temporary brilliancy to the arms of different nations, at different times; and though, artificial and weak radically, it has, notwithstanding, rendered the opposing force cowardly, by an effect of astonishment connected with an appearance of something unknown. It therefore belongs to military genius to change appearances, in the view of animating the one party, or intimidating the other; but without disturbing the fundamental principles of the military system, when they are demonstratively just and true. It may be remarked in illustration of this, that the Highlander of Scotland was more formidable, as armed with the glaimor or broad sword, than with the firelock and bayonet, though most people are disposed to esteem the latter the more formidable weapon;

weapon; but if more formidable in reality, it is a weapon more commonly known, and, as such, it is less feared. The glaimor acted upon the enemy by impression of novelty; the possession of it rendered a Highlander proud and confident in himself. It was his national arms; it fixed upon him a note of national character. Success was connected with the energy of a national mode and unusual appearance. It is observed that those who have no practical skill in the use of the sword, sometimes confound and discomfit such as are professional masters in the art. In a similar manner, barbarous and rude nations sometimes discomfit the scientific masters in war, producing an effect of astonishment by unusual modes, or impressing energy of action by native force of spirit. Wherever art usurps dominion, so as to controul, constrain, and force the physical powers of nature into devious channels, the fabric, so produced, is radically weak and easily overturned. This is an operation which takes place in the refinement of society, strictly speaking, it is itself the very refinement of society, the operation which prepares the changes or overthrow of nations. The path of nature and of truth is narrow; but it is simple and direct; the devious paths are numerous and spacious; but they all lead to error and destruction. In all improvements, military as well as others, a correct knowledge of the powers or path of nature, as it forms the basis of every permanent fabric, so it must be permitted to direct the form and modes of the ornaments, which are, in any case, added to the structure; otherwise its beauty will not be of long duration.

CHAPTER III.

Formation, and Mechanical Training of Troops.

THE history of the human race is little more than a catalogue of wars, massacres, and robberies. The picture is often revolting,---such as the eye cannot sustain with patience. Even, in its less disgusting forms, it shews a mixture of the disagreeable; for man discovers, at all times, an innate propensity in his character, to exceed the bounds of justice and good rule, shewing himself prone, in all ages and in all countries, to usurp power and dominion. It is the general bent of his labour to effect a change of position, and the general aim of his exertions to expand his circle, or extend the sphere of his action. A desire, or physical attraction of something necessary or wanting for useful purposes, is the cause which keeps life in motion. Such desire is the source of activity; but ignorant of just measure, it usurps, or attempts to appropriate to itself more than what is strictly necessary for its needs. There is thus uniformly observed in man's nature a propensity to acquire,---rarely controlled in its action by a sentiment of justice, uniformly punished, in its gratifications to excess, by a physical law engrafted in the mechanical structure of the frame.—As desires, which exceed bounds, are unjust in principle; so the fulfilment of unjust desires is effected by force in execution;---superior brute force; or force not exceeding in quantity, but so organized and so directed, as to produce domineering effect in application. The first is the rude violence of man in

Innate disposition in man.

his savage state; the latter results from organization and discipline, as practised in war.

Utility of organization upon principle.

The art of war is the peculiar business of men professedly military. It consists in the dexterity of directing an army; and an army may be considered as an instrument composed of various independent instruments, so combined, and so acting in combination, as to produce joint impulse upon a given point, for the accomplishment of a given purpose. The direction of the action of the military instrument is under the management of the military officer; the organization of its parts, and adjustment of its powers is more peculiarly the work of the scientific philosopher. The fundamental arrangement requires a deep knowledge of the principles of elements, whether physically or morally considered; but the art of organizing, however useful, is less brilliant and dazzling than that of directing in action; for it is usual with men to form judgment of merits by comparisons in ostensible effect. In this manner, the leader of an army exhibits the operation of an active process, which accomplishes the discomfiture or destruction of an enemy; a purpose, effected principally by discovering weaknesses, and seizing promptly the opportunities of profiting by errors. This indicates a pre-eminence in one over the other; it thus fixes a distinction of relative value. It is a result of genius; hence the possession of genius is necessary for the military officer.

But, though the duty of the military officer demand the aids of genius, it is necessary that the means, placed in his hands, be rendered capable of an uniform and systematic action, calculated to second his view in the direction of his force. For, it being from the perfection of the instrument in its primary movement, that decisive effect results in application, an army, correctly organized, and animated internally, has often been found to conquer without the aid of uncommon ability in the

the general; an able general has often been seen to fail in his designs from the mere defects of his instrument, that is, the want of harmony in its mechanical movement, resulting from an injudicious composition of the subordinate parts.---Hence the primary organization of the materials of an army, supported by the discipline of tactic, is an object of great and essential importance in controlling events in war.

Principle of organization.

An army, which is a military fabric, constructed with a view to execute a design of one general purpose, is capable of being arranged in composition, according to two different principles, as influencing or modifying the effect. In one, the materials are selected and arranged according to the quantity and external form of the animal mass; in the other, according to the individual power and temper of the parts, as productive of effect in action. The first is the common rule, adopted by tacticians for the selection and arrangement of soldiers in forming armies. It produces a fabric of external symmetry, and of perfect uniformity of appearance; but, there being no test, that the materials are of the same power and the same temper, (as the forms of matter possessing external resemblance often differ in internal organization) the action is not necessarily joint and correct in its correspondence; the effect is consequently uncertain,---often lame and defective. The other, proposed, not yet adopted as the rule for selecting and classing soldiers, does not pretend to exhibit an appearance of external symmetry, and fine order of superficial arrangement. The parts may probably be of various size, and of different figure, externally; but they correspond in power, possess the same extent and capacity of force, the same temper and character internally: they thus produce union of effect in action, even when moved to the utmost extent of exertion.---Hence, if effect, arising from a joint and corrresponding action of parts, be the object sought for in

the movements of the military fabric, the mode of arrangement, here suggested, is the useful one; for it is directed to the useful purpose. On the contrary, if the individual material be estimated, according to the quantity and figure of its matter, it is evident, that, though the fabric may be uniform externally, the materials, of which it is composed, do not necessarily possess internally an uniform power of action; for the powers, expressive of action, are not always lodged in obvious, even in visible forms. They reside neither in the volume of the muscle, nor in the height of the stature; but in certain properties of the joints and turnings of the limbs, even in still more obscure parts of animal structure, which are not perceptible, or scarcely perceptible to the eye of the nicest judges; and, consequently, which do not attract the notice of those, who merely measure the height of stature, or calculate the gross compass of the fleshy parts. Such materials therefore, classed by their appearances, without regard to the measure of their powers, move unequally in the trial of force and exertion; the effect is consequently disjointed. The effort is applied in successions---excessive in some points, it fails in others; and the common purpose is defeated. In a fabric, constructed solely according to the principle of external uniformity, one part is probably constrained in the freedom of its action, another is stimulated to exertion beyond its natural power, for the sake of maintaining uniformity of appearance in the routine of military movement. Hence it is obvious, that where the powers are naturally unequal, the expression of their action can only preserve an appearance of uniformity, under the guidance of a discerning eye, the control of a coercive, or the spur of an impelling cause. Where these superintending powers are weakened or removed, the fabric necessarily falls to pieces. As the action is not bound together by adaptation of the natural

action

action of parts, and natural correspondence in movement, the effect cannot be uniform without the action of adventitious force. It cannot be uniform in a movement of animated exertion; for animated exertion is incompatible with restraint.

The effects here stated are obvious; and the inconveniences represented are considerable: they might be diminished, in some degree, if the materials of armies were duly arranged, and placed in a military school in the years of infancy or youth. Taught to move, according to the form of tactic, from early youth upwards, the movements would be regularly formed, and the habits would be so confirmed by practice, that all the bodily actions might be expected to be directly in the military channel. The action of the several parts would then correspond with each other, as far as the measure of natural power admits; so that an army, thus disciplined, might be found to possess uniformity of appearance externally, and internally a strong correspondence of action in its movements. But, as this is not the case, armies being usually composed of persons, who have grown up to manhood without knowledge of military rule, and who have acquired habits of movement, different from the proper movement of soldiers, there necessarily must arise in a fabric, organized according to uniformity of external appearance, rather than actual measure of power, a jarring and discordant effect, from failure of parts on the score of power, or from a disposition in parts to recur to former habits, when the controlling influence is weakened or removed. In a mixed mass, some exceed, when not restrained; others fail, when not impelled: the movement is at variance with itself,—active, without effective progress. Hence, the most rational, and the most eligible mode, as it is the most advanced towards the attainment of that form of discipline which gives union of action, is

True principle of arrangement.

is decidedly that, which professes to select subjects for different purposes, according to their powers and fitnesses, classing and arranging them in companies, so as to act in the way most corresponding with their natural exertions; but in such manner, that, while the arrangement makes a fundamental disposition according to capacity of power, the rules of discipline are so directed, as to bring out the energies of one and all in unison, and in the greatest possible perfection. The exerted action in this case will be uniform; for the parts are put together according to the correspondence of their powers; the effect will be one; the movement in union in all its parts; for the materials are all of one temper. The organization of an army, according to this idea, produces a fabric, the external symmetry or *coup-d'œil* of which may not please the fastidious eye; but the joints of which are well knit; the temper corresponding and harmonious; the movement correct and in unison throughout,—under trials and in difficulties. The idea, here suggested, will most probably be ridiculed; for it is the fashion of the times to manufacture all things on account of appearance,—the military instrument as well as the milliners cap. Hence uniformity of size is principally regarded, and brilliancy of external figure is principally cultivated; for it is attractive of the eye: a knowledge of internal qualities and adjustment of parts, according to their powers in the point of action, in the field of service, do not seem in common circumstances to command attention; for the relations do not appear on the surface, and the surface of things bounds the researches of the mass of mankind.

Form of tactic.

As the military fabric is supposed to be constructed according to two different principles of arrangement;---viz. appearance, or reality of power; so the order of tactic, observed in the plan of discipline, is reducible to two different modes of adjustment. In the one, the parts are, in a manner, independent---

energetic

energetic in action,---the order open, the movements free, but cadenced in time and measure of force; in the other, the order is close, the parts mechanically supported, the action partially constrained, or irregularly exerted for the sake of superficial uniformity. In the first, the individual parts retain, more especially, the command of bodily powers and mental energies; in the other, the bodily action is constrained and ideas are obliterated from the mind; hence the action is purely mechanical, as the action of parts in an organized body, the grand action of which only is considered as a whole. To determine the preference or superiority of these modes, in the practice of war, is a question reserved for the wisdom of military men: it is simply meant, in this place, to notice the difference of appearance of the disciples of the different schools, as it strikes the eye of a common observer. In the first, each part appears to have an object individually and constantly in the eye. The parts act uniformly by the impulse of an object—there necessarily exists an idea in the mind. The eye in such case is penetrating and discerning; it is exercised in conveying intelligence for the information of the judgment. The limbs, exerted for the accomplishment of objects which stimulate to action, acquire freedom and force in movement. The countenance, as expressive of a free mind, is erect, open and bold; the air is martial and fierce; insomuch that a soldier of this school, disguised in plain clothes, even clothed in rags, still bears the stamp of character belonging to a man, who has risen above the level of his fellow-subjects in importance and self-esteem. He steps stately, as if he were confident of superiority. The disciple of the mechanical school, on the contrary, moves, as if he were afraid to offend or transgress the artificial rule prescribed to him: he has no interesting object in his eye, and no idea in his mind; there consequently is not any expression of boldness in his countenance;

nance; for he has no free thought: the action of the limbs is not free; for they are not exerted freely on duty: the general movement is even constrained; for steadiness, that is, constraint of action, is uniformly in the aim of the tactician, who labours to obscure, or amalgamate individual activity with the artificial movement of the fabric. If the positions be positions of constraint, the movements, being constrained, cannot be graceful,---not even bold: hence it is, that a soldier, so educated, having no feeling of his own importance, does not rise in his own estimation, and does not express in his actions, in the same manner as the other, any consciousness of superiority over other men: he is only known to be a soldier by his uniform, and military ornaments. An army, organized according to the first rule, discovers individual activity in all its parts, an unceasing and animated general movement, preserved in order of cadence by the impression of a common object, common sympathy of affection, or the effects of artificial discipline measuring the correspondence of exertion in the animal powers: organized according to the other rule, it presents uniformity of appearance, regular, in the highest extreme; a movement, on the parade, or where the signal of command is stronger than other causes, correct and measured with exactness in all its paces; but only correct in uniform circumstances. An example of the former was exhibited in the British army in high perfection, in the American war, in the troops denominated light infantry: examples of the other exist in most countries of Europe. It is difficult to foretel which may prevail in future times. The mechanical is more allied with the character of regular governments, which wish to bend all instruments to the order of a mechanical rule. It also more directly flatters the vanity of commanders; for it encourages them to believe that they themselves are every thing, the parts of an army mere instru-

instruments of mechanical impulse. Experience however proves, that the instinctive movements and innate energy of parts overturn the calculations of systematic tacticians, and humble the pride of the disciples of the mechanical school on many occasions;---so that if systematic order and individual energy cannot be joined in the same army, energy is the least dispensable of the two.

Knowledge of condition.

If effect, in action, be allowed to be the object, which ought principally to direct the selection, arrangement and discipline of persons destined for the service of the army, it is obvious, that the first question, in the execution of such purpose, relates to a correct knowledge of the active powers of the parts of which an army is composed, furnishing a test, which not only measures the height, but which tries and estimates the powers of exertion, in all the ways, in which they can be employed in the actual practice of war. Hence, to ascertain the quantity of animal force, and the extent of the powers of movement, is the first point of investigation. Force and activity are the hinges of effect in military operations; and, this being the case, the degree of these conditions ought to be known correctly at the time of enlistment; in order, that an estimate may be made of the extent to which they are capable of being improved by discipline. This, then, being the first object of examination, with persons appointed to select recruits for military service, it is important that it be well understood. The right understanding of it requires a correct knowledge of principles, connected with a knowledge of the existing, as well as the improveable condition of the animal force:—it necessarily comprizes the science of a medical and of a military man. When the quantity of existing power has been ascertained, and an opinion formed of its improveable condition, the attention is next directed to conduct the improvement of that condition to the

highest point of perfection; for, previous to the placing of soldiers in their respective stations, as effective parts of the great military instrument, it is right that their powers should have been tried individually, carried to the highest point of improvement, of which they are capable; and that the measure of such improvement should be ascertained systematically and correctly. This office is important: the execution of it ought to be intrusted to persons, who have studied the science of organization upon its just foundations, who have knowledge to direct, and constancy to persevere in acting upon principle; for, without knowledge, as resting upon principle, no progress can be made in forming an army as a consistent whole.*

In

* The discipline of armies, at least the forming and perfecting of the regimental soldier, depends much, in common circumstances, upon the skill and diligence of adjutants. The office of regimental adjutant ought, therefore, to be filled by a man well educated in the fundamental principles of mathematical and military science. As the adjutant must possess mathematical science, in order to comprehend clearly the principles of movement; so he requires clearness of elocution, that he may be able to explain and demonstrate impressively the utility of the movements and manœuvres which are commanded. Soldiers are ordered to execute; but they cannot be expected to execute well and correctly those things, which they do not understand according to principle. Scientific instruction is therefore necessary in the drilling of the soldier; and such instruction must proceed from an adjutant, or officer of authority. An adjutant must consequently be a mathematician; but, in addition to the knowledge of mathematics, (and nearly connected with it,) he must have a correct knowledge of the qualities of ground; for it will be useful to place, occasionally, before the eye of the soldier a series of military positions, as an example from which he may draw an inference of advantages or disadvantages in the field of actual war. This form of instruction is particularly necessary for light troops. The first lines of the instruction are supposed to fall under the duty of the adjutant; and, that he may be able to instruct usefully, it is fit that he comprehend clearly. Besides the knowledge of mathematical science, and the knowledge of ground, the adjutant of a regiment ought to possess some knowledge of animal structure; otherwise he will not readily and correctly form judgment of the physical powers of man, so as to place him in the part of the fabric where he ought to be placed. So far the adjutant may be enlightened and prepared for his duty by formal education; but the quality of reading the character of mind, so essential for persons who form and discipline troops, must be the gift of nature:

In preparing a soldier for military service, in the primary school of military education, the first view is directed to improve the ability of movement and power of action, particularly locomotive and operative power. Hence, as improvement in the powers of movement is so important, it is essential that the principle, which regulates it, be well understood; in order that the instruction be carried scientifically to the highest point of perfection. In laying the foundations of this process of improvement, it is previously necessary, that the body, which is considered as a mechanical, but animated instrument, be placed upon a just balance; so that it may be capable of maintaining its positions firmly, and that it may maintain them with little effort, or with the least possible expence. The human figure is erect naturally. When erect, it has dignity in its movement and majesty in its aspect: when well poised, it has the power of sustaining itself longer than in any other position; for it supports movement with facility, in proportion as it is correctly placed upon a just balance. As this is demonstrable, it

nature; consequently, those subjects, who are qualified to become useful adjutants, do not often present themselves. But, as the office is so important for the formation of armies, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that those military powers, who aim at eminence in war, might be induced to open a door for pupils, establishing a school, expressly, for the education of this class of officers; who, being instructed in the principles of military science upon a general basis, would be capable of impressing a national and systematic form of tactic and discipline through the whole extent of the army. If the office be so important as it is stated to be, it may be expected that suitable rank will be attached to the duty. The person, here in view, is subordinate to the commanding officer; but he is supposed to be the instructor in discipline, and the immediate master of the younger class of officers; he consequently requires to have more than subaltern rank that he may possess authority; as he must be of a mature age that he may have the chance of possessing discretion. If the duty alluded to were defined to be the express duty of a second major; the rank of second major being only bestowed upon persons who are distinguished for knowledge of military tactic and military economy, it is most probable, that an impulse would thereby be given to those, who do not possess wealth, to cultivate military science; as the possession of military science would be known to command a respectable military promotion, independently of patronage or purchase.

is important that soldiers be well set up, according to the military phrase, that is, well placed upon the haunches; so that all the joints and joinings of the different parts be brought to bear equally, and be practised in bearing fairly upon each other. That part of training young soldiers, allotted to setting up, is not therefore intended to effect a matter of appearance, which is merely pleasing to the eye. It has a positive use; for if the positions be erect and just, the movement is graceful and easy; and, where graceful and easy, it is supported with comparatively little exertion.---The principle is obvious; but that the object be attained with facility, and be productive of effect, it is requisite that the subject, undergoing this discipline, be accustomed to stand for one hour every day,---the head, heels, hips, and shoulders, all, equally, in contact with a perpendicular wall. The joinings of the haunches being tried, and moved in all their bearings during this exhibition of posture, the just positions found out and demonstrated to the senses of the subject himself, the motions of the parts, most employed in active war, exercised and perseveringly practised in movement; the habit of performing the more usual military forms of action will, consequently, be soon acquired; and, in course of time, the habit will be confirmed into a law of nature.*

It

* To the haunches, as to the common centre of motion of the human figure, whether locomotive or operative, are ultimately referred all the movements which are performed in military tactic. Hence it is necessary, that the properties of the haunches be well understood, that this cardinal hinge of motion be rendered effective in all its extent, tried in all positions, and perfected to the farthest limit of perfection. It is clear, that movements cannot possess grace and ease, unless they turn justly upon this pivot; and, if they have not grace and ease, they cannot possess force or endurance of action. The human figure is erect,—maintained in an erect posture by the action of parts which anatomists call muscular fibres. It is competent to the common sense of every one, that the nearer the figure is raised to a perpendicular line, that is, the more equally the various pieces of which the column consists bear upon each other, the more easily will the balance of the general fabric be preserved. The human body,

raised

It is not the object of military training to form a stiff, constrained, perpendicular figure: it is rather the object to entice the

raised erect, is maintained in the erect posture, by the continued, or rather by the successive action of muscular parts, which, as they act in rotation, relieve each other, and thus support a repetition of action with comparatively little fatigue. The spine possesses the power of a rotatory motion in its own substance, even an obscure or yielding motion at its joinings with the haunches. Muscular, or moving parts are provided by nature, calculated to act and to relieve each other. The shorter fibres preserve the balance in parts of obscure motion; the longer ones are destined to effect the greater movements, the changes of place, or the operative duties of the superior extremities. In both cases, where action is extended beyond its limits, or where it continues stationary with little remission, fatigue is the consequence. The first is the effect of severe labour; the latter of constrained immoveable position.—When the body is justly poised, erect and well balanced upon the haunches, its movements are performed with ease, and exercise is supported with the least possible effort of the moving parts. Its efficiency agrees with the following position.—The heels on the same line, near but not joined; the toes pointed a little outward; the foot firmly planted; the knees straight, but not constrained; the spine erect, and well balanced upon the haunches; the belly compressed; the chest advanced and expanded; the shoulders drawn back; the arms hanging at ease; the neck upright, the countenance inclining neither to right nor left; the eye directed steadily to a point in front. When the human figure is placed in this posture, the moving parts, which are thrown into a form of balanced or tonic action, give firmness to the fabric, an air of importance to the figure, even a sensation of consequence to the mind. When the spine is erect, the stature is exalted and the mind lofty; when the belly is compressed, the loins girt and firm, the body is strong; when the chest is advanced and expanded, the lungs having more room for action, the body is cool and refreshed; the heart dilates with ease, and performs its task with pleasure: the whole frame is animated;—the habit of the forward countenance and determined eye impresses the soldier, that his path is only forward. The attitude, now described, exalts the importance of the human figure in the eye of others, and imparts a consciousness of value to the sensations of the subject himself. It deserves a culture; but, in the modern tactic of the King of Prussia, imitated by many nations in the present time, the improvement of the military figure of the soldier, in importance and boldness, does not appear to command attention. The military step, according to the instruction of the modern school, is not stately, bold and firm. It may indeed seem reasonable, that progressive movement be made with the least possible expence of power; but an animated and firmly planted step imparts a sensation of conscious importance to the mind of the soldier, which is of more consequence than the power husbanded by sliding over the ground with an inferior degree of exertion. Yet power is not even husbanded in the sluggish movement; the same parts are in constant routine of action in the one, which are relieved by succession in the other. A soldier is proud, when he steps with impression; and it is of consequence

the soldier to fall gradually into such attitudes and positions, that his moving powers may be capable of acting long with little expence: hence the nature of the movements, which conduce to this purpose, deserve an attentive consideration. Among these, the exercise of dancing holds an important place.

Dancing.

A proposition of this nature is not unlikely to meet with ridicule from witlings and ignorant men, who have not estimated, and who do not know the causes which give effect to the exertions of animal powers. It may be known by every one, for it is familiar in common life, that the instructions of dancing-masters impart a certain undescribable quality of ease and grace to the movements of the human figure: it is farther known, that where movements are easy and graceful, their repetition is endured, for a proportionally longer time, with less fatigue; because, it is performed with less effort of the moving parts. But, as the science of dancing is employed in discovering such positions and attitudes of body, as best concur with the easy performance of action; so the practice of the art tries, expands and perfects the capability of parts for the execution of movements, in their highest degree of perfection. In the act of dancing, all the joints, and even the joinings of the body ace

quence to make him proud; for he is then brave. The military figure ought to be erect: in the present time, it can scarcely be said to be so; the spine seems to lean forward by a general inclination, so as to form a perceptible angle with the lower extremities. The spine, which leans forward, is also stiff, as it were agglutinated in the mass,—not yielding into movements of grace and ease: there seems in short to be a struggle against nature,---an attempt to controul the freedom of action, and to constrain the figure to a state of immobility, called steadiness. But, however desirable steadiness may be, it must be observed at the same time, that where action is constrained, or but partially relieved by changes of position, fatigue is the consequence: hence it is plain, that a knowledge of the structure and powers of the human figure deserves a minute consideration, in adjusting the positions and in directing the movements of soldiers in the course of their training; for if the foundations be not laid upon principles of science, the instruction of the tactic goes into error, producing weakness rather than strength.

moved

moved, or solicited to movement; the bearings and attitudes, connected with grace, with ease, and, consequently, with effective action are found out. All the parts, capable of motion, are acted upon; the minutest fibres are moved; and, it is a known law in animal economy, that where the fibrous parts are moved and agitated, their active powers are expanded and increased. Hence, the act of dancing may be supposed to improve the movements of the body, to increase the extent of action, and to aid in endurance of toil by mere mechanical effect. But, if the act of dancing improves the powers of the subject, mechanically, in the manner stated, it also has the advantage of acting upon the moving principle, by an obscure, as it acts upon the moving parts by a visible, operation. It engages the mind, by a power peculiar to itself. By engaging the mind, it solicits the force, and brings out the action of parts, imperceptibly but strongly. It extends, confirms and improves the powers of the body, as applicable to the purposes of war, or perfection of military duty; and, insinuating itself into the mind, by its peculiar charms, it beguiles, or persuades the young soldier, that he is instructed in dancing for his own sake, his pleasure, his gratification or his accomplishment. To dance well is esteemed, in most societies, to be an accomplishment which adorns the man; and, on that account, dancing is an exercise cultivated, on most occasions, with ardor and delight. But, though the art of dancing be useful for soldiers on general grounds, the usefulness of it may be greatly extended, by studying and properly applying the modes; viz. by practising a strong and manly, rather than an effeminate and languishing movement,—attitudes, positions, and forms of exercise, which bring out the energies of the moving powers, and train the subject in habits of rapid transitions in the circle of exerted action. Hence, as the practice of dancing serves to extend the compass, and measure the precision

sion of movement, teaching a facility of uniting different parts in a joint action, without confusion and embarrassment, as teaching and training to act by rule of cadence, it may justly be considered as an useful part of primary education, in the system of military discipline. It not only imparts a grace of ease to all the movements, and consequently increases the fund of endurance; but it infuses energy of spirit and vivacity of action, by its influence on the mind. It is useful on different accounts; and it is a common and known observation, that persons, who dance well, ordinarily walk well; and, by a similar reason, soldiers, who dance well, usually perform long marches, with comparatively little fatigue.

The act of dancing agitates and exercises every part of the body; but its influence is more particularly directed to improve the movements of the lower limbs. The practice of fencing, on the contrary, while it necessarily occasions an erected action in every part, exercises, more particularly, the power of the arm. It is directly a military exercise; it sharpens the mind for the practice of war; it confirms the courage, by accustoming the eye to look at the semblance of a naked weapon; and, it gives confidence to a master in the science, in the conscious profession of skill. The attitudes, which it calls up, tend eminently to place the body well upon its haunches,—to give power to the loins, and to open the chest. The exercise, necessary in the practice of the art, increases the power of the arm, and improves the facility of motion in the wrist. It extends and improves the action of all the moving parts; and it furnishes, at the same time, the means of judging of the measure and extent of their powers. Two hours, spent daily in the practice of fencing, might be supposed to be sufficient to improve, after no very long period of time, the fund of exertion in young soldiers to such a degree of superiority, as may serve

Fencing.

to

to give confidence and importance to the character. The practice of fencing serves to impart courage, in confidence of skill; it serves also to give knowledge of man, as trying and improving temper. It sharpens the eye sight; it insensibly increases the active powers, and suggests the opportunities of employing them, that is, of acting offensively with effect, or defensively with coolness and resolution. The art of fencing with foils, even the exercise of the sabre and broad sword is necessary for all military men of the higher class, as an accomplishment:—it is a part of science, not to be neglected by the common soldier, as a professional acquisition; it gives confidence to the mind, encouraging it to sustain the approach of a naked point, in the closest shock of battle:—for, objects of a similar presentation being familiar in such exercises, do not strike with surprize, as an effect of novelty, in the trials of war.

Dancing and fencing are two elementary parts of education, supposed to be useful in the forming of young soldiers. Instruction, in the manner of walking, so that the common gait be converted, scientifically, into a military pace,—a cadenced or measured step, is no less,—perhaps even more, necessary than the others. The labour of attaining it is much abridged, by practising the preceding exercises; for the limbs are thereby rendered pliant and capable of executing movements with facility. Military men claim a military step; and, as they must be taught to move well united in order, the pace, according to which, and according to which only they should be permitted to march, ought to be precisely fixed and carefully practised. The duties of soldiers call for movements of different velocity on different occasions of service; the effect, so varied, is better accomplished by a more frequent repetition of the step in point of time, rather than by a change in the base of the measure. But, as union in the point of action is the hinge of success in war; so the chances left open to disunion ought to

Step in marching.

be as few as possible. For this reason, the varieties of the military pace, in direct marching, ought to be confined to two;—for example, a pace without constraint or exertion in measure and time,—the customary pace of the ordinary march, —in persons, properly formed and qualified to be soldiers, about three miles per hour; an exerted pace, which by a more frequent repetition of step, in a given time, reaches a higher rate of velocity, probably, four miles per hour. This is a rate of marching, at which few persons, encumbered with arms and baggage, are capable of continuing long without fatigue;—it is only resorted to on great occasions, or as an interchange with the common step for the purpose of relief.*

* The military pace differs, in different services, according to real or assumed causes,--- the natural length of the fork, or the fashion of walking peculiar to different countries. In the British service the measure of the common step, in the direct march, is adjudged to be thirty inches. A pace of thirty inches seems to be a full step for a man of the heighth of five feet eight inches, well proportioned in all his limbs, and walking without incumbrance. If so, it must be an extended step for those of lower stature; even for those of higher stature, who carry a firelock, accoutrements, and knapsack. If the step, in the march, be extended beyond the measure and compass of the natural power, early fatigue is the consequence. If the body be loaded with an extra weight, every extended step is an exertion; a repetition of strained exertions is soon followed by exhaustion. That the act of marching be supported with as little fatigue as possible, it is evident, that the body ought to be maintained, on a perpendicular bearing when under movement,---not thrown off its center by an exerted extension of the step; particularly, if the subject be loaded with extra weight. Hence, it will be found more useful to quicken the time, rather than to extend the base of the measure; fatigue being more certainly the consequence of the latter practice. Military judges will do well to consider the subject in question; but it is presumed, in the mean time, that twenty-seven inches will be found to be a sufficient length of step for the soldiers of the battalion, who are supposed to move in close and compact order, and to preserve a correct line in their movements; for it must be remembered in this case, that, while an extended step occasions early fatigue, a correct line can scarcely be preserved, even on the smooth surface of a parade, where the measure of the step occasions an extension of the limbs, approaching to exertion. Light infantry have a latitude in this respect, which cannot be admitted in a battalion or among grenadiers; it being necessary, in all cases, that a battalion soldier, whose virtue lies in the steadiness of his hand, and a grenadier, whose value lies in the power of his arm, be brought to the point of action, without previously passing through such a course of exertion, as impairs or diminishes the respective and peculiar force and virtue of their characters.

That

That a soldier possess the power of marching well, is one of the most essential of the military qualifications; but in order that he acquire this quality in perfection, he requires to be trained in the practice of marching with care and perseverance, so as to be confirmed in the habit of performing it with ease: for instance, three hours to be allotted every day for practice in the various forms of marching, the subject, during this time, passing through the routine of the different paces and movements in succession,—common pace,—exerted pace,—relieved by interchange of pace,—animated by running easily, or trotting,---by running with exertion and speed,---by marching or running on level ground,---on broken or irregular ground,---on rocky and hilly places,---in vallies and ravines; and, occasionally by clearing ditches and hedges, and all such impediments as can be supposed to occur in the field of actual war. By such practice, the power of the limbs is extended, the endurance strengthened; and, what is of more consequence, the means are discovered of ascertaining, precisely, the degree of action, of which the individual is capable; while the individual himself learns to measure his own exertions with precision; so as not to be in danger of miscalculating effect, when obliged to apply his powers in the common purposes of service.

Practice in marching, &c.

The exercise alluded to, in this place, must be conducted under the eye of an intelligent person, who has studied and acquired knowledge of animal structure; who knows the extent and capacity of man's exertion on general grounds; and, who has acquired an acquaintance with military things from experience, gathered in the fields of military service. It may be presumed, that the exercises of dancing, fencing, marching, running, &c. over varied forms of ground, varied in mode, and repeated daily for a given number of hours, will improve the

Application.

powers of action, in the course of six months, nearly as far as they are capable of being improved, furnish the individual with an estimate of his own force and a knowledge of his capacity of endurance; and furnish the intelligent superintendant of the primary school of discipline with information, respecting the character of the materials prepared for the rearing of the military fabric; in consequence of which he may be enabled to make an arrangement, according to effective powers, and allot the parts for the services best suited to their qualities.---In this first stage of military education, destined to extend power and measure capacity of movement, one part must be adjusted so as to relieve another, the whole conspiring in general accord, for the accomplishment of a general purpose.

The plan of education, or form of exercises detailed above, is calculated to extend and carry the powers of the animal body to high perfection in activity, endurance and exertion of force. But, in order that the effect may be ensured in all conditions, and under all circumstances of service, it is fit, that

Economy.

a rule of economy and management for the individual, be pointed out at an early period and practised diligently, so directed and conducted, that it may be organized as a system in its order, and confirmed into a habit in its effect. Such provision of economy is indispensable; for, while one soldier is only a part of an army, or military instrument in its grand purpose, every soldier is a separate or independent part in himself, as relative to his own functions. He must therefore, in order to be qualified to maintain his place in the general fabric, be instructed, according to a general and effective rule of discipline, in the proper manner of acting separately and independently for himself, in matters which relate to the care of his own person. The rule regards three objects, in a more especial manner, viz. cooking or dressing of provisions; cleaning,

mending,

mending, and repairing of clothing; care of the person, individually, against the contingencies which are likely to affect the health.

It rarely happens, and it cannot well be expected to happen, that soldiers should be furnished with such regular apparatus of cooking utensils in the field, as are provided for troops in barracks, or in regular garrisons in times of peace. It is therefore a piece of necessary education for all persons, entering into the army as soldiers, to be instructed in the best manner of adapting the means to the necessities in all such cases; that is, in adopting the best and easiest practicable mode of dressing the raw provisions which constitute the ration. Broths, soups and stews are easily cooked. They are variously prepared by different people, or nations; but when skilfully prepared they are palatable, wholesome, and a convenient form of food for soldiers. It is therefore essential, that soldiers be taught the best modes of executing this form of cookery. The knowledge is not of difficult acquisition; but it still must be learned; for it is often proved in trial, that young soldiers know it not, and, for want of such knowledge, are often ill fed, notwithstanding they have a profusion of raw materials.—It is almost unnecessary to mention, for it is within the experience of every soldier who has served a campaign, that a meal of wholesome provisions, suitably dressed, brings comfort after fatigue and imparts the power of renewing action, corresponding, in some degree, with the skill of the cookery. Some knowledge, on this subject, is therefore useful for military persons: where it is overlooked in the military institution, there is a radical defect in the foundations of the education. Cooking.

But, as the preparation of the soldier's mess is not of difficult execution; so the task is not irksome in its nature. It does not degrade from the dignity of a soldier's character. The heroes

heroes of ancient Greece prepared the repast, after the service of the day was over; and, even now, there are few higher gratifications than that of preparing refreshment for our hungry comrades. The offices of the military kitchen, where the members of the mess are few in number, serve to assimilate soldiers to the economy and affection of families; and, on that account, they have a social and useful tendency. This bond of union is not, perhaps, sufficiently encouraged in the present times: the benefits of it are not sufficiently understood. The practice of dressing the provisions in a common kitchen, and the tumultuous manner of feeding, unavoidable in large and crouded messing rooms, seem to have cut up the roots of the social and grateful intercourse at meals, which, in camps and scattered quarters, constitutes a great part of a soldier's enjoyment.—It may be remarked in this place, that the British soldiery, with the most ample allowances of raw provisions, has not ordinarily an equal share of comfort and satisfaction with troops in the service of other powers in Europe less amply provided; but who appear to have studied, and who better understand principles of economy in cooking; and whose domestic connexions have been encouraged, and better strengthened in their growth by the routine of the discipline, the order and the intimacy which usually preside at the times of repast.

Social effect.

Besides the instruction, necessary for teaching the best mode of dressing provisions, instruction in teaching the manner of repairing the injuries, which happen to clothing, likewise demands attention. Soldiers are not intended to be tradesmen; but every soldier ought to be so far a taylor or a cobler, as to be able to repair, in a becoming and useful manner, the ordinary damages which happen to his clothing or his shoes. A proficiency, to this extent, is soon and easily learned; while the learning, or the execution of it, cannot be supposed to interfere

Repair of clothing, care of persons, &c.

terfere with the performance of military duties.—An army, in order to be as perfect as possible, must be so taught and instructed, as to depend upon itself for every thing which concerns itself. A soldier, for instance, must be taught how to wash his own linen, as well as to repair the slighter damages which happen to his clothing or his shoes. Besides the washing of linen, he must be taught to shave himself and to dress his own hair; in short, to do every thing for himself, which concerns his own person; for, as it is in a man's power to do, for himself, the most of that which he can do for others, a soldier ought to be so prepared as to stand on this ground at all times,—to depend upon himself, and to be responsible for himself---in all things, in all emergencies.

It is further proper, that a soldier be accustomed, from the time of his entering into the army, to hold himself ready to meet, cheerfully and familiarly, the occurrences which are common in actual war. He must, for instance, be accustomed to sleep in his cloak or blanket,---occasionally dressed and accoutered. He must be ready to be called up in the midst of the night,---to be marched to distant places. He must be exposed purposely to wind and rain,---to heat and cold in high degrees. He must be trained in the best modes of passing rivers, whether by fording or swimming; he must be instructed, in such event, in the most effectual manner of securing his ammunition from injury. When wet with rain, or in passing rivers, when exhausted with hunger and fatigue, he must be taught the best methods of taking care of his own person, for the preservation of his health. In short, he must be put in possession of the best and most suitable remedies applicable to the contingencies, which may, or which can happen in military service: he must, thus, be preparatorily accustomed, by a course of training, to every thing which does occur, or which can occur in war.

Inuring to contingencies.

When

Knowledge in the use of arms.

When the rudiments of the discipline, instituted for the improvement of the mechanical powers of the individual parts in activity and force; and, when the principles of private economy and management, connected with the preservation and efficiency of health, have been pointed out, and put into a train of forming a habit by a daily practice of six months continuance, the next object, which presents itself, in the systematic course of military instruction, is the attainment of practical knowledge in the use of arms. This implies a knowledge of the use of the weapons employed in offence or in defence; whether the common firelock and bayonet, or the rifle and sabre; the use of which is to be previously elucidated by a simple and demonstrative proof of the principle, according to which the different instruments act mechanically, and of the effective power with which they do act, when properly exercised and directed. Every motive, which contributes to render a soldier ardent in the pursuit of his profession, ought to be sought for, and cultivated with industry. To solicit an attachment to arms is essentially conducive to this object; but connected with, and preparatory of such attachment, a knowledge of the construction and power of the weapons, as well as possession of skill, in the manner of application, is indispensably necessary. Hence it is proper, that a young soldier be furnished with a rule, by which he may be enabled to examine and judge the temper of his sword or sabre, the correctness of the barrel of his musket, and the mechanism of its lock. An attachment to arms engages the mind, and preserves it from ennui in times of peace: the care, required to keep arms in order, furnishes employment for idle hours in times of actual war; consequently is considered as preventative of the pursuits of vice. The care alluded to, at first perhaps constrained, begets attachment to the object, and produces pleasure at last; for man becomes enamoured by long habit. But while enamoured

moured with the possession, by habit and familiarity, a knowledge of the qualities, perfection and power of offensive or defensive instruments to which life is intrusted, engenders confidence in the face of an enemy; for the man, who knows powers, is master of effect. Confidence results from skill; but skill can only be acquired by practice and experience of things---in all their forms. Every man is aukward and diffident in the use of arms in the commencement of his military course; even more than diffident, the young soldier draws the trigger of a loaded musket with symptoms of fear,---with apprehensions, similar to those of a man who puts a match to the train of a loaded mine. The impression is not unnatural; for the customary mode of training does not give him the knowledge of the instrument in its perfect state, as applied in war. A firelock, as charged with powder merely, or armed with ball, gives a different idea in explosion to an unexperienced man. Something is apprehended;—effect is unknown; and, what is unknown, is most probably feared.

The young soldier, in proceeding to learn the use of the firelock, the instrument employed in the practice of actual war, is supposed to be previously instructed in all the forms of the manual exercise. This was formerly a complicated and laborious exercise, consisting of many and various tossings of the firelock. It is now simplified: much of that, which is superfluous in the professional effect, is omitted; but with the omission of the superfluous, as directed to effect, there is lost the dexterity, the energy, and force, which were manifested in the old manual or handling of arms; the attitudes and positions, which discover the just poise and balance of the body; the movements which extend the action of the powers; and the exhibitions, calculated to interest and amuse, are now left out. There was formerly an exhibition of dexterity and force, seen and

praised; there is now only to be noticed a constraint, named steadiness, and a measure of time, named exactness; qualities, which have no attraction and no value, but as relative to the corresponding parts of the army considered as an organised body, constituting a whole. The professional object in war is the destruction of the enemy; the accomplishment of which is principally committed to the management of movements, and the effect of fire-arms. The superiority of effect, expected from fire-arms, is placed in the superior rapidity of loading and firing, connected with an exact correspondence in time of firing, among the relative parts. Such, it is presumed, is the rule of perfection; for such is the aim of tacticians in training the young soldier for the practice of war. The perfection of the soldier's attainment, in these points, gives amusement to the eye and ear; but, the young subject, thus perfectly drilled in the working of a firelock like a mechanical instrument, remains ignorant of his professional perfection, as directed to ultimate effect or destruction of the enemy; for he is furnished with no means of trial whereby to judge. Rapidity in loading and firing, with an exact measure of time in firing, as relative to parts, is the ostensible aim of the tactician's care. It is deemed the mark of perfection in the exercise of fire-arms. Just direction, or rather precision of effect, does not appear to be in the calculation. This is however demonstrably the object; and, as it is the object, which a rational system of discipline might be supposed to cultivate, it is assumed as grounds on which to act in forming the soldier: hence, it is fit that a plan be laid down, and measures taken to conduct the pupil in arms to the proper management of the firelock, as calculated to produce precise effect in action. The process is a mechanical operation, and it must be conducted on sound mechanical principles.

The

The destruction of the enemy is the aim of the soldier in the field of battle; the young soldier must consequently be taught to fire with aim, covering his object correctly. This precept is not comprehended in the instruction of the mechanical school; which seems merely to regard quantity of fire, general level, and general direction by a mechanical movement of the firelock. Quantity of fire is a sound; and the injunction of general level and direction impresses no precise idea. If it be meant to kill the enemy, it is common sense that soldiers be taught to fire with aim; if it be meant to frighten by noise and appearance, general level, in platoon firings, will serve the purpose *.

The

* The just direction of fire is an important object in war; it is therefore fit, that the principle, upon which fire-arms act in the production of effect, be well understood by the regimental instructor; so that the effect be explained in a familiar manner, level to the apprehension of the young recruit. It must be left to military men to determine, whether or not a line of three deep can be so disposed, as to fire with safety to each other and with impression upon the enemy. It is not improbable, but that the front rank may sometimes suffer from the rear rank in the hurry and confusion of action; or, that the rear rank, avoiding the heads of those in front, may discharge their muskets in the air. This is a question, the decision of which belongs to the professed soldier, who is present in action and sees how things are; but the principle, which directs the level and aim of the fire of musketry, may be investigated and determined by a mathematical rule, without incurring such risk. In studying this subject correctly, the laws of vision ought to be well considered; for the effect of fire-arms depends principally upon just sight. The ray of vision expands from a centre to a circumference, or point in a circumference; and, as it inclines upwards in its expansion, the objects, which are placed above the level of the eye, are the objects most distinctly seen, the connexion with them being most readily established. In this manner it is easily understood, how fire does more execution when directed from the valley to the height, (if the object be duly exposed,) than if directed from the height to the valley; and, for a similar reason, aided by others, how the fire of the rank, which kneels, does more execution, than the fire of those who stand upright. On the same grounds of reasoning, the execution of fire is more certain, if an object be covered independently, as in killing a bird, instead, as is customary, of levelling formally by lines from the position of *recover*. It is probable, that a line of firelocks, directed mechanically by platoons from *recover* to *present*, operates an effect upon fears, and thereby induces the enemy to retire from a threatening danger: something may perhaps be due to appearance as conducive to defeat: in this case, the

The degree of perfection, attainable by individuals in the art of firing, has great latitude, depending upon qualities peculiar to particular classes of men. Some remain inferior to others, in spite of all endeavours for improvement; yet there are few who fire well without some exercise of learning; and there scarcely are any who are not capable, with the aid of industry, of making some advancement towards perfection. The possession of the knowledge of directing fire correctly upon objects is the most important acquisition of the mechanical soldier's study. The task of conveying instruction, so important, commands an especial interest. It ought therefore to be committed to the direction of persons, who are sufficiently masters of science to explain the principle upon which perfection depends; who are capable of pointing out the right way of prosecuting the study; and, who are themselves skilful to demonstrate, by example, the perfection to which the art may be carried. The example alluded to is a lesson demonstrative of effect. The disciple, judiciously treated, and with the example of instruction, judiciously directed, becomes enamoured of his arms and his profession; for he perceives that he acquires knowledge; and, in proportion as he acquires knowledge, he becomes confident in himself. He is thus made courageous by art,---courage, of a certain description, being the child of the practical skill here described.

actual destruction, from fire, has not the chance of being in the same proportion as in the other; for, the eye being elevated, probably fixed upon a point in a circumference in the act of *recover*, loses its point, and does not find it again readily and justly, when turned downwards, as directed towards a centre, or diminished circle in *present*;---a circumstance which necessarily takes place in levelling from the position, *recover*. This is a subject probably not much noticed; but it deserves the minute attention of military men, if the object, in war be considered to be the destruction of the enemy by a just direction of fire, rather than intimidation by the noise and demonstrations of a regular movement of the firelock in platoon firings.—This observation relates more particularly to light troops acting in open order.

The

The attainment of skill, in the use of arms, is an important object;—and, as such, an object to be prosecuted scientifically and steadily;—the means necessary for the attainment liberally and freely supplied. With this view it is suggested, that, during the stage of training, in which the subject is now placed, viz. after six months of previous education, three days be set apart, every week, for the practice of firing ball-cartridge. Seven rounds of ball-cartridge will not be too great an allowance for the consumption of the day, in such a purpose. This implies some expence of money, and on that ground, or on other grounds unknown, it is not unlikely that the suggestion will be scouted; but, as the knowledge of firing with ball correctly is the only part of training, which forms a soldier expressly for his professional uses, it is to be expected that the subject will attract the attention of the higher powers. The motives, which influence the conduct of nations, are not always ostensible; and it must be left to the clear sighted to explain, whether economy of leaden bullets, or some weightier reason is to be considered as the cause, that, with a great deal of practice in firing powder, there is very rarely any practice in firing ball, scarcely ever such practice as can lead to useful improvement. The real reason may be a sound one; but, if supposed to be economical, it will not be difficult to shew that the case is miscalculated. In battles, or actions under common circumstances, one ball in one hundred, or even a greater number, does not take place at the ordinary distance of engaging, (perhaps at one hundred, or one hundred and fifty paces;) and, as it might be expected, indeed is known, that one in three at least will strike within the circle of a man's body, if directed by a hand of the requisite skill under similar circumstances, it follows, that one man, who is master of this part of his art, is equal to thirty or more, equally perfect

perfect in tactical movements, and equally perfect in the uniformities of manual exercise, but, who have not been practised and perfected in the art of directing fire upon distinct objects, with care and precision. If this be true, and it is capable of demonstration, the mode of training, suggested in this place, is economical in a prodigious proportion; for, judging by effect, it may be said to multiply the army throughout---by thirty, even by a higher number. The advantage of skill over inexperience is striking: and, it is presumed, that if twenty-one ball-cartridges be fired with aim, every week for the space of six months, the perfection, proposed as the object of attainment, will be ensured with certainty by such mode of training, unless there exists some defect in the capacity of the subject; for instance false sight, unsteady hand, or wavering courage.

But, while the qualities of the subject form the principal consideration in the eye of the instructor, as conducive to perfection; so the correctness of the arms in themselves, added to a familiar acquaintance with their use in variety of situation, is held to be of material importance for the attainment of that precision of effect, which marks decided superiority. In this manner, while the barrel of the musket is straight and proved to be just as well as strong, the lock ought to be correct in all its parts, and easy in its movement: for an undue share of force, applied to the trigger, throws the piece off its level and changes the direction. This is evident and demonstrable; but besides this, it is further necessary that a soldier be familiar with the properties of the piece which he uses in war. By familiar use he becomes enamoured of his musket,—fond of it as of a part of himself. He also learns, in practice, the precise charge of powder which gives the just effect in explosion; for, though two different firelocks be of the same apparent calibre,

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they are susceptible of variation,—in temper or otherwise, which, though not demonstrable to the senses, modifies the effect in a considerable extent. Hence, there is a nicety in determining the true measure of the charge, according to the temper of the piece, distance of object or other circumstances, only to be ascertained by correct and actual experiment; experiment therefore ought to be applied to the case.

The effect, or execution from fire-arms, varies according to nature of ground, position and presentation of object, at nearly similar distances. The first trials are supposed to be made on level ground; the first effects estimated from such trials. But, as military actions are not always, even not ordinarily on level ground, it is proper that a soldier, in order to be master of his art, be exercised in firing at objects, on grounds of different form and different aspect, such as those on which military actions do, or may occur. It is necessary for instance, to ascertain the distance on the level plain at which he can promise, with some degree of certainty, to strike the object of his aim; to ascertain the same effect, in a similar manner, by trials of firing from high upon depressed grounds; or from depressed grounds towards a height; measuring the length of the distance, and the degree of elevation or depression with a just eye; so that, calculating correctly, he do not miss of his end in the actual trials of war; to ascertain the correctness and power of his musket in carrying the ball over ravines, hollow and irregular grounds; or rather to ascertain the justness of his own eye, in estimating the true bearings of positions and the presentations of scattered and distant objects. If a soldier views all these forms and presentations with a just eye, and estimates effect by knowledge acquired from experience, being certain of his power, and master of his action, he does not expend, unskil-

skilfully, those means, on which the safety of his own life and the success of the military enterprize depends.

It may be added in illustration of this subject, that eighty, or a hundred thousand ball cartridges, are fired on many occasions, in the course of an action, without killing or wounding more than five hundred men. In such case, and such cases are not uncommon, it is evident, that there is an expenditure of ammunition without adequate effect. If the non-effect arises from distance, position of the enemy, or manner of carrying the troops into action, the military officer betrays want of skill, and want of just knowledge of calculation. If the distance be a distance within the limit for execution, the enemy duly exposed, and the troops presented in the field, deliberately, and in a correct manner, the soldier betrays want of skill, or want of discipline and courage necessary for the direction of the skill which he possesses. Want of skill is consequently followed by hurry and confusion. A soldier, who is deficient in skill, that is, who is not confident of effect from the use of his arms, has no calculation and no object in his view. He is in possession of a weapon of destruction; but, ignorant of its true value, he works it rapidly, hiding himself under the cover of its smoke, or drowning his fears by its noise; for he has no precise object in his eye: and, where there is no distinct object in the eye, the mind is blank;---it creates one, or it is liable to assume a panic. On the contrary, the soldier, who is skilful in his art, is confident of effect. He is master of himself on all occasions; for, according to his positions and his bearings, he is almost certain of diminishing the number of the foe with every discharge of his musket: thus, every discharge of his piece adds to his idea of security or defence. If this subject be considered in its reasons, as applicable to use, it may be supposed, that the principal object of study, in the training of troops, will be

be directed to cultivate the art of firing for precision of effect, as relative to object, rather than rapidity of explosion, as relative to precision in measure of time. Precision, in effect, can only be attained by practice instituted upon a sound principle, and directed, by an able master, to a defined end. If eighty, or an hundred thousand ball-cartridges are found to kill and wound no more than five hundred of the enemy, (a proportion which does not appear to be rated too low); and, if it be demonstrable that fifteen hundred would have had the same effect, if the field had been fairly opened, and the soldier had been sufficiently instructed in his business, it is obviously necessary, that every soldier should be rendered master of an art, which brings with it so great advantage. The degree of perfection stated is attainable; and it is economical, in all views of the subject, that it be attained. It supersedes the necessity of number, giving the same result from skill, as from a great multitude.

The soldier of observation learns, by experience, that his greatest security and best defence in battle lie in the use of his arms, employed with energy and directed by skill. Consciousness, in the possession of skill, is thus the best support of his courage; for it is the cause, which diminishes the number of his dangers. No other defence is attainable in the open field. Protection from the fire of the enemy does not come within the soldier's calculation. Such, as falls to his lot against the effects of artillery, he must receive from position in the order of battle, made by the military officer who commands. In open combat, the aspect of danger is a matter of indifference; and it will be useful, that a demonstrative lesson be placed before the eye, in impressive colours, that it is so. The attempts to avoid the fire of musketry, by ducking or bending the body, are of no avail on the head of safety: they are

pernicious on the score of example; for they indicate and propagate fears. But, though it be an essential part of military education to teach the soldier to look upon danger with indifference; yet such effect can only be expected to arise from the knowledge or belief, that his condition is equal in the advantages of position with that of the enemy, and that his skill, in the use of arms, is superior. In the confidence of such opinion he is courageous artificially; for he calculates chances, and finds them in his favour.

Confidence from skill in the use of fire-arms, as has just now been said, gives courage in the combat of the open field; but, as the whole business of war does not rest upon the use of fire-arms in the open field, the other means, employed in this great work, must be examined and estimated in their effects, whether in offence, or in defence. The effect arising from the use of fire-arms is an effect of skill,—mechanical and artificial. Every thing connected with it turns upon the same hinge; but the effect of bayonets and sharp weapons, though not separated from the advantages of skill mechanically applied, has also a great dependence upon physical powers in their natural state,—whether mere force of impulse, or native courage. The qualities, chiefly useful in attack, are impetuosity of courage, force and union of parts in movement; in defence, firmness of courage, force and union of parts by position. It is therefore proper that soldiers be trained carefully, and instructed scientifically in those exercises and forms of combination of force, which are most formidable for the threatenings of attack, or most secure for confirming resistance in defence; and, in this view, they ought to be previously furnished with opportunities of estimating and knowing the force and just value of each. Things strike the imagination, and act upon the human mind, in proportion as they are new and unknown. If new, they astonish,

nish, alarm and produce consequences not corresponding with their real power. The custom which prevails, at present, of trusting the fate of combat to the effect of missile force, has diminished the native courage of man,—at least changed its mode. Close conflict, where two lines of infantry positively measure bayonets, is now a rare occurrence : the appearance, which is usually denominated a charge, is in reality only a threatening ; for the courage of the one or other fails before the shock of actual contact. As causes are called into action, in the movement connected with a charge, which aid a feeble or unsteady courage, it is usually believed, and it has often been proved in trial, that there is a description of troops which may be led on to charge gallantly, but which cannot be induced to sustain an attack courageously. Impetuosity leads on; patience sustains ;—the last is the rarer quality, in the character of persons who usually compose armies. It is fit therefore in the training and classing of soldiers, that the native characters be duly studied, the advantages improved, and the defects remedied as far as possible ; that the mind be armed against the effect of appearances, the arm rendered powerful in impressing realities. This relates chiefly to the forming of grenadiers ;---a part of the army which commands the highest consideration ; for its bravery is supposed to stand above its skill, and bravery is the paramount quality of man.

The subject, so far considered, relates only to musketry, as acting against musketry. War frequently presents a destruction from artillery, or from the overwhelming power of cavalry. It is consequently a part of some importance, in the tactician's office, to place before the eye of young troops the most correct attainable view of effects usual in war, without incurring the positive experiment of destruction. The effect of artillery is chiefly destructive by sweeping level plains, or hollow ways.

In broken and irregular grounds, the noise occasions panic among inexperienced people; but the actual destruction, where the range is broken or the elevation high, is comparatively small. The effects of it may and ought to be demonstrated by experiment; for it is fit, that all, that can be previously learned or shewn by example, be familiar to the mind, so as not to astonish by novelty in the day of service. Besides examples of the effect of fire, it might also be useful that examples were shewn, of the best and most expeditious manner of carrying batteries or field pieces, which bear upon lines or columns. Experiments of this nature do not indeed teach the exact rule of truth; but they serve to throw some light upon the subject, and they accustom bodies of men to move towards objects with correctness and precision.---A young mind and ardent courage is forward to advance: the courage which sustains is a courage of patience, more peculiar to old men; in all cases, it is the fruit of discipline and experience.—The safety, which is given to troops by position, proceeds from the foresight and discernment of the general, or officer who commands:---the soldier cannot be allowed to have any discernment or judgement in the case; for the object is not within the reach of his means of knowledge.

Besides the noise and the destruction of artillery, the threatenings of cavalry, and the destruction which they commit, upon broken lines, deserve to be justly estimated and carefully guarded against; for though it be certain, that cavalry (for horses will not do what men wish) are not capable of penetrating *a cheval de frize* of bayonets three deep, well planted and well supported by courageous men; it has notwithstanding often happened, that regiments, or detachments of infantry have been attacked, broken and defeated by inferior numbers of dragoons, even in positions, where, according to all the rules of war and good sense, dragoons ought to have made no impression.---It is therefore

fore necessary that soldiers be informed, by the clearest examples that can be given to them, of their own power, when united by tactic and supported by courage.

Three days are set apart every week, in the second stage of the military training, for firing of ball-cartridge and practice in the use of arms. The remaining three are allotted to the task of laying the foundations of the more complex operation of combined movements, that is, of teaching the parts, which have been previously prepared, in the manner described above, to comprehend principles and execute movement in cadence and order. The instruction comprehends the chief hinge of effect in military operation; but, in order that it may be executed with facility, it will be proper that the principle, upon which the movement turns, be made plain to the simplest capacity by a patient and intelligent master. If the hinge upon which the operation turns be clearly comprehended, the rule of execution will be soon learned; and, if care be taken to place, demonstratively, before the eye the utility of effect, it will be executed with alacrity and good will. The practice of moving in cadence becomes easy after this preliminary :---the effect will then be correct; for the mind receives an idea, at the same time that the body is inured in a habit. Movement.

If the principles, upon which the movement turns, be explained, in a simple and intelligible manner, by a person who is master of the subject in its true foundations, it is presumed, that, with the principle always in the eye, the art of executing evolutions, with precision, will be soon attained by those who possess common powers and common capacities. But in executing this part of military tactic, it must be understood, that the precision, now in view of the tactician, must be a primary precision; an effect, which only can be ensured by arranging and classing the parts according to the corresponding exertions of

of their powers, as known and estimated by trial. In the supposition here alluded to, the parts, moving at a known and measured step, unite in their exertions by a natural and instinctive act; for they are balanced in the quantity of their natural powers, as unconstrained by the action of foreign causes. The effect will consequently be correct,---without that shuffling, retrograde and jarring movement, conspicuous in dressing the ranks of the highest finished parades of the present times.

Incorporation with a regiment.

A young man, destined for the ranks of the army, prepared in the primary school for six months, practised in cadenced movements and firing of ball-cartridge for six more, in the manner stated, may be considered as a person instructed in the first rudiments of his profession, consequently fit to be incorporated with the body of a regiment, classed in the regiment according to the quality or condition which he respectively possesses. A regiment, in its formation or composition, may be considered as an army in miniature,—complete and perfect in its effective parts. As an army, it is necessarily formed with its own means of meeting the ordinary presentations of an enemy. It may, or ought therefore to consist of four different classes, or parts, as intended to meet four different prominent purposes, viz. riflemen as marksmen; light infantry, for desultory movements; battalion, or common force for the mechanical operation of fire-arms; grenadiers,—persons of superior force and courage, reserved for important occasions.

In selecting subjects, as best qualified for the different offices of a regiment, it is reasonable to expect, as has been already stated, that preparation, for the different purposes of the service, will, to a certain extent, be the result of the habitual occupations and manner of life of the individual. This is a presumption generally founded; but besides this presumption of qualification arising from preceding habit, the quality of the indi-

individual himself must be individually considered; so that he may be allotted to that particular office in the instrument with which his qualities best correspond. It must be left to officers, who are professedly military, to fix the gross strength or force of regiments or corps, and to determine the just proportion of the different classes composing a regiment. To offer a suggestion on the subject might be deemed presumptuous; but, as a military action usually consists of different parts, and as the nature of military service is different in the varying scenes of war, it is obvious that the number and the qualities of the classes, as allotted to these different purposes, must also be different. Riflemen, or marksmen form the first class. These are useful in sieges, or in the attack and defence of posts: they are useful in rocky and broken grounds, in woods, and places presenting cover. They may be employed to feel the pulse of the enemy distantly, to reconnoitre and ascertain positions—by stealth rather than force; to harrass and annoy out-posts, and to interrupt progress to a certain extent; but their use is limited, in the great scene of war; for they act to no advantage in open and champaign countries. The military instruction, which qualifies for the exercise of this office, consists, ostensibly, in the expert use of the rifle,---an acquisition, offensive to the enemy, and, as such, operating a security for personal defence. Its operation is limited at all times; but its value ceases altogether in close action, and in the open field. The rifleman requires cover and a position of rest, as ecurity from causes which occasion emotion in the frame and render the hand unsteady, for then the effect of the rifle is uncertain. He requires, for the useful execution of his office, and his own security which is connected with it, a quick and discerning eye, address,---or the art of concealment in advancing, the power of moving quickly in retreating, and of judging correctly of designs from appear-

Parts of a regiment.

Riflemen.

appearances;---hence while active, he must be intelligent, and of a prompt decisive judgment.

Light infantry. The light infantry presents a closer combat than the rifleman. It occasionally meets the enemy with main force, though applied in a desultory and irregular manner. The requisite qualities of this class of soldiers, besides good wind and long endurance of quick movements on irregular grounds, often connected with a light body and a long fork, are correct and ready knowledge of the aspects of ground and position, a mind of enterprize, a bold and daring courage—ardent in pursuit of glory. The military instruction, which qualifies for the proper exercise of this part of military duty, consists in a judicious management of movements, and firings with aim in all variety of ground and position,---matured by a knowledge and correct estimate of effect in all the variety of circumstances which occur. The mode of action, among the light class of troops, appears to be irregular; but it has its own rule of order. It advances, retreats, occupies positions rapidly, maintains them for a given time and given purpose. In short, it meets all the irregular presentations of the enemy; in so far, that the battalion, which possesses the great mechanical power of war, is allowed to approach to its just point of attack without annoyance, and without the necessity of accelerating its movements; a cause, which produces agitation in the frame of the individual, disturbs the steadiness of the hand, and necessarily diminishes the certainty of the direction of the missile force.

Battalion. The battalion, which is the main body of the army,---the mechanical power, which is supposed to operate effect by the impression of fire-arms, is judiciously composed of persons who possess correct mechanical power of the hand, as acquired in the occupations of manual labour. The mass of artisans are consequently applied suitably in filling up this part of the military

tary instrument; as the high spirits of impetuous courage are allotted, with good reason, to the ranks of the preceding class.

Grenadiers.

Those persons, who give proofs of resolution of mind and who possess power of body, are ordinarily and properly selected for grenadiers,---a force which composes the reserve and last resource of an army. The quality is bodily power, and one paramount sentiment in mind, viz. victory, or, after the example of the Roman Brutius, a grave in the field of battle.

Imitation of warlike movement.

The elements of an army having been instructed in the rudiments of military education separately and independently; the parts selected, classed and trained for the performance of military duties in the manner which has been stated; the next object relates to the institution of a rule of exercise and practice of movement, similar to that of war; so that a habit being formed by custom, the parts may be qualified to support their functions in the compound fabric; that is, to move uniformly, correctly and firmly under all trials of service. This comprehends the last part of the system of mechanical discipline; a part, which, while it preserves and improves all that has been previously taught, digests the knowledge into systematic order, and brings it into form for practical use. A regiment, which is an army in miniature, ought therefore to be exercised frequently and perseveringly in all the forms of military action, for the sake of instruction. This is useful, and always attainable; but, where circumstances permit the meeting of different regiments forming a large army, it is further desirable, in order that effect be more extended, that a train of practice in compound movements be instituted on an extensive scale. By this means the powers being known, as acting separately, or in combination, the effect of a regiment singly, or the effect of many regiments combined, may be calculated precisely, when carried into the field of real action. For example,

it will be useful in the course of this training, that a regiment be tried in marching at the different military paces, variously interchanged and practised on grounds of varying nature; with a view, that the extent of its exertions, on such varying grounds, be known and correctly estimated. The military officer commanding, who knows correctly distance of place, nature of roads and qualities of ground, may thus be enabled to calculate the time precisely, at which the several parts, acting on different lines in combined movements, may be expected to reach their destination; as well as the capacity of exertion remaining, when the point of destination is attained. If this union of force be correctly adjusted, and if the destructive powers be skilfully directed upon vulnerable points, the effect may be calculated, and anticipated with a reasonable degree of certainty. In conducting this plan of exercise and discipline, a plan extremely important, as teaching the rudiments of real war, a regiment, or an army, must be thrown into all possible positions, as defensive of attack, or operative of effect—in making impression. It must be accustomed to march at different paces, with interchange of pace alternately varied; exercising, at the same time, every variety of exertion which is called forth in war, and combining all its powers for joint effect in action. Practice forms and confirms habits; hence, when the parts of the instrument have been put together according to a rule of natural correspondence in movement, effect may be expected to be correct and uniform, as proceeding from the operation of a justly balanced instrument; which, inured to action for a given time, according to a given rule, learns to move steadily in a customary routine. But, besides this practice in tactic, which is merely mechanical, it is further necessary, for the better management and more precise effect of the exercises and evolutions alluded to, that the soldier be himself convinced of the value, or purpose

pose of his instruction,---a conviction, which readily arises from demonstration of examples of effect placed before the eye in impressive colours. The proper management of demonstrative effect requires discernment in the instructor; but, properly managed, it facilitates labour and spares the exercise of harsher measures. A simple capacity comprehends a movement, demonstrated in its parts, in process and effect; the most acute err or seem stupid, when compelled to act without a prominent object; that is, without the light of a principle, or the allurement of an effect. If the various qualities,---propensities or passions which influence the conduct of man, be rightly understood and acted upon philosophically, it does not seem to be impossible, to render soldiers so perfect in their art, by the practice of manœuvre and evolution, as to perform all the operations of which the physical powers are capable, with a mechanical correctness. Such perfection is attainable; but, in order that it may be always calculable, the movements ought to be practised in all varieties of ground, the power of the fire of the musket known and ascertained in all conditions, so that the result may be estimated at all distances, and under all manners of presentation.

The time, required for this practice or training in combined movement, cannot be supposed to imply a shorter period than six months. Habit cannot be formed without time; and, unless habit be formed and firmly rooted, the soldier cannot be depended upon, as acting correctly under the various presentations of war. The practice, here alluded to, may be performed regimentally, a regiment being a type or perfect part of an army. But besides regimental practice, which is on a confined scale, it will be proper, as already suggested, that great bodies of troops be brought together on proper grounds, at stated times, for the sake of an extensive exercise of the duties which are necessary in the field; and, for the sake of furnishing oppor-

tunities of teaching, by example, the various modes of attack and defence practised by contending armies. Such demonstrations, as represent all the realities of a combat, except the actual slaughter, are useful in furnishing this instruction. They place, before the eye of the soldier, an example of something similar to that which he must expect to experience in war. In consequence of this experience he is less apt to be startled than he otherwise would be;---because things are not new in their appearances, though they are different in their effects in actual war, and in demonstrations illustrative of war. In order, that such demonstrations or examples be useful, they must be repeated frequently, varied occasionally in form, and conducted, without any other correspondence between the opposing military officers, besides the common design of attack or defence of certain positions which command advantages. Such practice accustoms the soldier to look at things; and, looking, he learns to estimate the importance of effect, as well as to acquire ability in execution. It serves farther to sharpen the genius of generals; for, as the operations are supposed to be carried on without concert between the parties, the mind is necessarily exercised in finding remedies for contingencies,---and that promptly.---Hence it is presumed, that proficiency in the art of war, to a certain extent, at least a perfect correctness in the execution of all the parts of tactic will result from the mode of exercise and training now suggested.

The demonstrations, or mock engagements alluded to in this place, are not without their use in the manner in which they are usually conducted; but the example would be still more instructive, if it more nearly resembled the reality. The effect of fire-arms is known to produce a certain degree of destruction, at a given distance: hence, in imitation of reality, a certain proportion of men ought to disappear from the ranks, in the mock

mock engagement, from the supposed effect of a certain quantity of the enemy's fire. The ranks being thinned by the apparent operation of an ordinary cause of destruction, an opportunity is thereby furnished of re-organizing what is left, upon a corresponding basis of order; a process, supposed to go on mechanically by an instinctive operation of defence, common to the nature of man.---To organize the shattered ranks of an army, in the face of fire, and under a continually accumulating destruction, is the most important and difficult operation which occurs in war. To effect it, in a proper manner, commands the highest admiration, and marks the highest perfection of a soldier. It is the fruit of discipline; but of a discipline, standing on better foundations, than the mere mechanical discipline of modern armies, which, losing continuity of support, loses every thing.---It may be observed in this place, that there is a considerable latitude of operation in the organism of the animal fabric, the animal body contracting its circle and still continuing its functions; even, continuing its essential functions when some of its parts are destroyed. The movements adapt themselves to the capacity of the materials which remain, in virtue of a mechanical organizing operation in the fabric of man individually; while a power, equally unknown, exerts, in the collective body, a similar cementative process as an impulse of natural instinct. The first lines of the rule seem, in this manner, to be engrafted in the mechanism of animal structure; but the perfection of the work, as directed to society, is the fruit of discipline founded upon principle, cultivated by rule of science, and finished by perseverance in practice. The power of discipline, applied to act upon man, produces example: proof follows example, impressing the mind or internal sense with conviction, that a systematic organization of the parts is necessary for the defence of the whole. The common

sense

sense and common experience of every one confirms the fact, that correct effect can only result from correct habit; correct habit from long and correct practice in cadenced movements; while movement, in order to be consistent, must center in an internal cause. As the re-organization of a shattered army, in the face of the enemy's fire, is the highest effort of discipline and most convincing proof of military excellence; so the mock engagements, which do not artificially derange the ranks of the battalions, with the view of giving the opportunity of executing this purpose for the sake of instruction, do not exhibit a correct representation of war, consequently, are not to be ranked in the first degree of usefulness: they are, in fact, a shew to amuse the multitude, rather than an example to instruct and form the soldier.

Management of powers in action.

If the ground, over which an army is destined to march previous to action, be correctly known, the military officer commanding, who is supposed to be duly acquainted with the powers of the troops in marching, is not likely to err in calculating effect; for, when things are known and matters properly arranged, the parts cannot fail of being present in their stations at the proper instant for attack. Further, if the nature of the ground upon which the combat takes place be rightly understood, the effect of fire-arms, on different grounds and at different distances, known and duly calculated; added to a knowledge of the capacity of the individual parts for seising and maintaining positions, the calculation of the general effect is not likely to be mistaken. An army, or military body, is supposed to be so organised, as to be capable of acting upon a fixed principle. By ascertaining the use of fire-arms at different distances, and in different forms of direction; and, by practising movement, so as to form the habit of bringing the means to bear, truly, upon the most vulnerable points, the issue

issue of the contest comes to be a matter of tolerably correct calculation; for it follows an uniform rule. A knowledge of the qualities, necessary for this purpose, belongs to the military officer. If it be not well understood, and acted upon with energy, the result will be void. For, though an army may be in itself sufficient, in power, to effect a specified purpose; yet, if the power be not applied in proper circumstances, that is, to the proper points of attack, with its vigour entire and united, it either fails; or it succeeds by chance, where success ought to have been seen, and anticipated as the result of a systematic operation. Hence it is necessary, in order to obtain full effect from the just application of the military instrument, that the conditions and circumstances of the application be carefully considered; in aid of which purpose, the character of the different classes of troops employed in service, requires to be justly estimated, so as to be placed in their proper stations, and applied, with precision in their respective lines of action. The riflemen, as observed, compose the first class of troops in a regiment or in an army. The mode of fighting is desultory and loose; the purpose to harrass and annoy, rather than to fight a battle. The second class, or light infantry, is likewise ranked among the troops of demonstration. They seise positions by the rapidity of movement; they maintain them, with obstinacy, by the firmness of courage, covering for a time the execution of important general movements. Their service is, thus, preparatory of the great conflict, guarding the line or battalion from annoyance, till it arrives at its appointed station; for it must be always borne in mind, (if the object in view be impression from the fire of musketry,) that, as the fire must not be permitted to commence till the distance be point blank, (for otherwise there is no just calculation of effect), so the force in question, in advancing to its station, must not be permitted to quicken

quicken its pace in such degree as to agitate or hurry the circulation of the blood; it being a physical fact, commonly known, that when the body is heated, the current of the blood hurried by the effects of running or other exertion, the heart beating high, and the lungs panting for breath, the powers of the arms are weakened, the motions are consequently wavering and unsteady, and the direction of the fire false,—the instrument being rendered unfit for its office by mismanagement. Hence it is an important lesson,---to be impressed firmly on the minds of all military persons, that, wherever the main effect in action depends upon the fire of musketry, the line or column of troops possessing this means of destruction must be advanced to its position, at the slow pace of movement. This is a rule connected with the action of a physical cause; and, as such, being uniformly true, it ought to be observed undeviatingly in the application of the power of fire-arms. But to this caution must be added, the further rule, that the powers of exertion of a force which may be directed to advance in charge, with the bayonet or other weapon of close attack, being distinctly known, ought to be correctly calculated in the view of application; so that the movement may be accelerated, only in degree and for a continuance, sufficient to give impulse---not to weaken or exhaust power.

Conclusion.

The genius and talent of officers direct the application of means to the proper point; dexterity in management belongs to the soldier. Dexterity is acquired mechanically by careful and long practice; effect is only ascertained, by experiment, in all possible variety of circumstances. The consciousness of superiority gives courage and confidence in action; such courage and confidence as spring from practice in actual war, in a long course of service. The veteran soldiers of Alexander, denominated silver shields, appear to have attained the highest degree

degree of perfection, arising from this source, which any soldiers ever possessed:---Fierce and confident, in superior skill, they ruled the fate of battles. The success of the Roman arms was highly distinguished; and, this high and uniform success appears to have resulted, in a great measure, from the perfection which the Roman soldiers attained in the use of arms, daily practice in the use of which, the military institution imperiously commanded. But, as the superiority of veteran troops is admitted in all matters, connected with skill, so the explication of their superiority is easily understood. Habits of practice give, to the soldier, such skill and management in the use of arms in the day of battle, as might be expected to be acquired by experience, in working, in unison, the separate parts of a machine of compound movement. The knowledge and ability, acquired by such experience, aided by a correct direction of powers in general movement, ensure the application of united impulse, at the proper time and in the proper circumstances of action, producing a powerful effect, and a calculable one, as depending upon an uniform rule. It is thus, that experience of actual war imprints, upon the soldier, the character of veteran,—a courage, arising from knowledge of things, and a consciousness of superiority in the art of applying powers. Such courage is cool and tempered; that of unexperienced troops is impetuous, blind and headlong,—liable to mistake its purpose, unless plain and prominent in all its aspects. Hence unexperienced troops frequently mistake and misgive, even compromise general and personal safety by mistaken ardor; but they also sometimes achieve extraordinary things—by single impulse, where veterans fail; for veterans do not go beyond a regular and calculable rule in the performance of their duties.

CHAPTER IV.

Principle of Military Movement, and Bond of Union in Action.

Principle of movement.

THE subject of the preceding pages relates to the organization and discipline of troops, considered as a mechanical process, improving animal powers in force and activity, estimating progress in improvement, and fixing the arrangement of parts, for the production of union of effect in the point of action. Such is the preparation of the instrument, as an artificial fabric. If uniform in the figure of its parts, it pleases the eye by its appearance; but without the operation of a cause of vigorous and consistent animation, it is feeble in action, and uncertain in the measure of its force. A correct mechanical arrangement arises from a just estimate of the powers of parts; a consistent movement rests on the operation of a principle, common to all the parts,---necessary in originating the movement, as well as in cementing its union. The movement of the universe, and of all things in it, turns upon a simple hinge. The spring of human action is ultimately referable to the operation of two principles, love or desire, fear or aversion,---modified variously, diverging into numerous ramifications apparently complicated or contradictory, but radically proceeding from, and ultimately tending to their respective centres. An army, consisting of a number of separate and independent parts, various in figure and form, occasionally discordant in temper, and variously susceptible

ible of impression, cannot be expected to move consistently and uniformly in its action, without the operation of a principle of paramount force, absorbing, in one impetuous current, all the minor propensities and wanderings of the individual members. The application and proper management of the operation of this principle of paramount force, as influencing the conduct of armies, is the most important, but the most difficult part of the military officer's duty. It demands an intimate knowledge of the human character,---an acquaintance with the minor shades and peculiarities of individuals, the proper disposition and arrangement of which render one part, and all the parts susceptible of the uniform and forcible impression of a common cause,—originating and governing a common action. To execute this aright, the history of man must be well considered,---viewed and estimated in all its relations, in civil or military life; for here every thing, which operates upon the mind, which is the moving principle of the animal fabric, must be correctly known, in order to be calculated for the production of effect.

Causes influencing military action.

Of the causes which influence, or which may be supposed to influence, the military character, some operate on man in his early years, in civil life; others, in the progress of the military instruction, or military service. Among these causes of influence the principal are referable to the national character, as connected with pursuits in life, or stage of society; character of the rival or opposing power, as superior or inferior in military estimation,---influencing the spirit of emulation; selection and arrangement of parts, according to social sympathies and correspondence of power; form or character of discipline, as original or borrowed, that is, national or foreign; and lastly, character, or nature of service, as calculated to concentrate and bind together, or to weaken and dissipate military energies.

Stage of society.

1. In regard to the first, viz. the national character, as connected with pursuits of life, or stage of society, it may be observed in general, that the semibarbarous, the emerging stage or period, where man is distinguished for strength and vigour of mind, though uninstructed in science, is particularly fertile of military genius and warlike virtues. To adduce illustrations is unnecessary: the fact stands written in the history of all nations, that the early periods are the most warlike; but it may not be thought superfluous to notice, cursorily, an outline of the progress of warlike character among the English people. The English nation, either as principal or auxiliary, is, perhaps, oftener engaged in war than any other nation in Europe. If its wars with France, at various periods; its wars and conquests in Ireland; its wars with Scotland, previous to the union; and its numerous civil wars, in different ages, be taken into the account, the English people may be thought to be radically a military people,---ambitious of conquest and power, and jealous of rights. In times, but lately past, England abounded with yeomanry, a class of people---independent in mind, and important in character: the labouring class, or peasantry, was then numerous, powerful in bodily force, and active in operation. Agriculture was the great occupation; the sports and pastimes were rural and manly, even military; military enterprizes were numerous; they were marked by traits of generosity and boldness;---deliberation in council, firmness and vigor in action were characteristics of the English. In the later civil wars, the mass of the people received a new and extraordinary impulse from the expanding power of liberty and revolution. The energies, which were called forth in the times of rebellion, assumed a general and grand direction after the great revolution of 1688. The wars of Queen Ann followed; and the wars of Queen Ann stand on record, as a brilliant, perhaps,

haps, as the most brilliant and illustrious period in the English history; all the parts of the nation being animated and expanded by a new influence generally diffused. The impulse progressed northwards: the Scotch, incorporated with the English, rose into notice. The manners began to assimilate; new channels of enterprize were opened; and the movements, which occurred in the year 1745, were followed by a change in the condition of the Scotch highlanders. The highlanders trod a new ground from this period; and their steps have always been distinguished in the fields of war. They came forward nationally in the war 1756; and the war --56 marks a distinguished epoch in the annals of the British army,—a considerable part of which is due to the highland soldiers. The termination of the war --56 was creditable to the British arms. The consolidation of conquest, or acquisition of territory, was the fruit of the national prowess. The dormant parts of society were touched. Feeling a new impulse, they assumed a new character. A taste for manufacture and commerce, which had been growing for some time, struck out with great vigour; and, as new sources of communication, and new and alluring prospects of riches were opened to the view in various quarters of the world, by the expanding influence of a successful war, the mass of the population rushed, as in a torrent, into the channels of manufacture, commerce and speculations of gain. The occupations of the people, hitherto agricultural, became manufacturing; the labours and amusements, hitherto rural and active, became domestic, sedentary, luxurious or effeminate. As the acquisition of gain is the ostensible object of manufacturers and merchants, the object of a soldier, in a commercial nation, is reasonably supposed to be gain, rather than military glory. Hence it is the temptation of bribes, or high bounties,—not military ardor, which induces young men in commercial countries

tries to enrol themselves in the lists of the army. This marks the commercial character.—It now flourishes and appears to have engrossed every sense and sentiment; so that the profession of arms is rendered a field of speculation and traffic, for the increase of capital or the creation of wealth.

Character from emulation.

2. The military character of a nation is affected by the military character and warlike reputation of the rival with which it contends. It is not necessary to illustrate this subject at great length; for the same rules apply equally in all nations. It is sufficient to remark, in a few words, that the glory of the French nation, the rival and enemy of the British people, stood high at the close of the seventeenth century. It aimed at the domination of Europe, and threatened it with subjection. The British nation opposed its unjust pretensions; and, in the progress of its opposition, felt itself electrised with a new force of exertion; for, contending with a power acknowledged to be superior, all the energies, which stimulate man to glory, were called into action. A sentiment of pride was a cause of success: success fixed a mark of honor; and the national character was exalted. In the war --56, the French nation still stood high in estimation; and, in common opinion, was held to be the superior power. On this ground, the British nation was stimulated to exertion; success followed exertion, and glory followed success. The case was reversed in the war with the American provinces. The stimulus, connected with an idea of glory, was wanting; for the enemy was deemed inferior in military science and in power. The Americans possessed no scientific system of tactic, and had attained no name in arms. The glory, therefore, which belonged to success, in a war of this character, was only that of repressing the revolt of a mass of unskilful peasants.---In a manner, somewhat similar with the British nation in the American revolt,

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were placed the powers, which combined against the French people in the late war. They stood high in military estimation, as masters of all the parade of military science, and possessors of consummate skill in tactic. They calculated success from their acknowledged advantages; they were not stimulated to exertion, by the glory of contending with a power superior, or even high in military reputation; for the French were a new people,---a revolted multitude, ignorant of military science, according to the established rules of the military art. The case is now reversed; the French nation stands high in reputation as a military people: whether really or fictitiously, is not yet proved in evidence that can be deemed decisive; for insidious arts have probably done more in spreading its dominion than real military prowess: but however that be, it stands high in common opinion; and the nation which dares to meet it in arms, may be allowed the credit of possessing courage. Stimulated to exertion by the eminence of its rival, the contest, on the part of the British, will be animated: glory will be the reward of success; and success, from what is already known, may be presumed, to be the consequence of battle joined on equal terms.

Selection of materials.

3. The selection of materials, and the composition of parts, according to the nature of physical qualities; so that the whole be cemented by a common bond, regulating a movement for the production of joint effect, is an important object in the organization of armies. Whether the principle is widely viewed in the present times, and acted upon scientifically, so as to produce the highest degree of excellence, which the materials are capable of producing, is a matter of which common observers may be disposed to doubt. But if there be doubt on this head, it will be useful, in order to place the matter in a clear light, previously to state the circumstances, connected with the condition of the subject in its various relations.—Man has,

has, individually, an innate or natural difference of physical quality, corporeally and mentally. Impetuosity or ardor, patience or self-command are extremes of temper. The extremes are defects; for a soldier may be too impetuous, as well as too patient of injuries. The qualities are peculiar to individuals; and, as an army consists of many individuals, possessing peculiar tempers, it is the object of the tactician to class and arrange the parts in such a manner, that the composition be consistent in character and united as one instrument in its action,---energetic and persevering, compounded, somewhat in a similar manner, as the Damascus blade, where alternate layers of steel and iron, united by the hand of a skilful blacksmith, form an instrument which cuts through every resistance, and is proof against every violence. The physical qualities, which operate effectively in war, belong to individuals;---they are to be found out by observation, and ascertained by experiment. The cementing quality, which gives them union, joining the whole powers in common action, can only, like the temper of the Damascus blade, be infused by the hand of a master. The cementing principle is a portion of the spirit of a military genius infused into the mass.---It is rare in its appearance; but the outline of the rule, which directs the operation, is discoverable by study and care, estimating the mutual correspondence of parts with each other, in their physical and moral relations.---It is a physical law, which obtains through all the works of nature, that materials of similar quality unite readily with each other, forming accession of power, without incurring a change of the qualities of their nature; materials of opposite qualities rush together, destroy each other, producing a new or third body; those of little affinity, but no marked enmity, remain in a state of wavering balance, possessing a movement without progress,---a combination without a full

full union of force. If this law of nature be rightly understood, and applied practically in the organization and composition of armies, it follows, by a natural consequence, that instead of mixing nations in regiments promiscuously, as chance directs, it comes nearer the point sought for in war, to form armies, or detachments of armies, by nations; regiments, or smaller parts, by counties or districts of country. In an army, composed according to this suggestion, union of action, to a certain extent, is preserved among the parts physically; for men possess some common resemblance in physical constitution according to nation; still more according to county, or division of country; and, as the circle narrows, the resemblance increasing, the nature of the union becomes still more intimate. In this manner, as men of the same nation, formed into an army, exhibit for the most part an appearance more uniform and consistent in external shew, than a mixture of various nations; so they observe a more exact correspondence, when they move in action, than such as are promiscuously thrown together. This might be expected in the nature of things; for the properties, which connect movement, when exercised in a primary school of education, assume a habit, which regulates an uniform and cadenced action in the subsequent steps of life. If the operation of such cause be felt in the movements of an army, composed of persons of one nation; it is felt still more strongly in regiments, formed of persons belonging to one county.

As it is the ostensible object, in the organization of armies, to arrange a fabric capable of moving systematically upon given points, that is, of acting with all its parts in union, according to a given rule, for the accomplishment of a given purpose, it requires no parade of argument to prove, that the materials, possessing the greatest natural correspondence of radical qualities, are the most eligible to be classed together in the

formation of the fabric. It is evident that men, arranged in armies by nation, and in regiments by county, have a certain physical connexion with each other from a correspondence of physical powers, arising from climate, or connected with the customs of the nation, or people inhabiting those particular districts of country. This is corporeal; but there further exists a similar, even a more intimate connexion, among the inhabitants of lands or counties, from sentiment engrafted in the mind by formal institution of education in early life, or by habits tacitly engendered in civil occupations. Men are bound to each other in sentiment, nationally, or by county,—and more intimately still, in still smaller circles. This is a fact obvious to the most superficial observer; and in consequence of this fact, the propriety of forming armies, or detachments of armies by nation, and regiments by county, rises upon the view with increasing force.

But it may be observed further in illustration of this subject, that, if heterogeneous materials be thrown together promiscuously, arranged simply according to size or quantity of matter, as the parts possess individually independent powers of action, the fabric can only be prevented from falling to pieces, or tending to different points of direction, by coercion, or a skilful application of constraint. One part requires to be urged, another to be repressed. The management is difficult and nice; for, as the powers of exertion are not always of a capacity exactly corresponding with appearances, so they are not equally influenced by the same motives, impelling, or soliciting action; circumstances, which a foreign power does not readily see, and, which, not seeing, it cannot estimate. The action of a fabric, so composed, is at best forced or constrained. It does not reach the highest point of excellence; for excellence consists, in every part of the instrument acting with full force,---acting from

from one spring, and for one purpose. In a mixed fabric, consisting of parts of unequal powers, it is clear, that if all act to the full extent, disunion is the consequence; on the other hand, if disunion does not actually take place, it is evident, that as certain parts move in a constrained step, the joint effect rests at an inferior point of exertion.

The objection, stated in this place, must necessarily attach to armies composed of different nations mixed promiscuously: as it must attach, in some degree, to regiments, the materials of which do not possess the bond of connexion, which unites men of the same county, district or village, with each other. That troops, purely national, or still more expressly inhabitants of a county or narrow circle, are capable of attaining an excellence in war, not to be expected from a mixture of heterogeneous materials, however speciously arranged, may be presumed from the distinguished conduct of pure national regiments; particularly from the conduct of clans or tribes, who, without the aid of mechanical tactic, as taught in the schools, stick together in danger, and accomplish feats of valour, beyond the power of mixed troops, and beyond the comprehension of those who have only knowledge of such.*

But

* This fact is often witnessed in history; but there is no instance, by which it is better illustrated, than by the conduct of a party of the late 71st regiment, in the American war. In the year 1779, in the course of an expedition into South Carolina, a party of that regiment, consisting of fifty-six men and five officers, was ordered out to reconnoitre the enemy, supposed to be advancing in force. The party, in executing its orders, fell in with a column, amounting to two thousand men or upwards. Though the numbers were so disproportionate it hesitated not to attack it. It checked its progress; but it was itself nearly destroyed. The officers fell; the non-commissioned officers fell; seven privates only remained unwounded, at the end of the combat. The officer commanding, at the time of receiving his wound, desired the few, who were left standing, to retire to the redoubt in the rear; they refused to obey, persisting to maintain the ground on which their officers and comrades had fallen: they actually did maintain it, till, a reinforcement arriving from a neighbouring post, the

But besides the bond of union alluded to which cements the action of national troops, or county regiments in the actual field of battle, there is a further benefit arising from the proposed form of arrangement, essentially important to armies. The moral virtue of the soldier is not less to be guarded, than his military prowess is to be improved; and there exists, among men, no stronger cause for improvement and constancy in either, than a desire that good report should spread among the companions of our youth, and those we expect to be the friends of our old age. Hence it is, that where the character is pure in early life, its purity is preserved, even improved by the society of persons who are known to each other at their native homes. They are emulous to do well, that their parents may be honoured; they are careful not to do wrong, lest they should be disgraced.—Such motive operates strongly with the highlanders of Scotland;—it may be considered as a main cause of their uniform good conduct in peace or war.

The suggestion, offered in this place, of forming armies or detachments of armies according to nation, and regiments according to county, that is, of adhering strictly to the execution of a plan, which appears to have been laid down in theory, at the time the different regiments in the line were named after different counties, will probably be considered, by most persons, as a visionary suggestion. The execution of the measure, it must be confessed, will be difficult in the now existing state of society, which has struck into a channel, calculated to ex-

enemy thought proper to retire.—These men, it may be remarked, had no skill in the tactic of the king of Prussia; the major part of them had but lately joined; and the best of them would have been sent to the aukward squad of a regiment very inferiorly drilled: They did not move correctly in the lock step; but the mind was heroic, and united as the mind of one man;—by their conduct, they proved themselves to be qualified to have been companions of Leonidas.

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tinguish or suppress county, even almost national connexion, among the parts composing nations. The avarice of money is the pursuit of the mass of the people; for the possession of money is almost exclusively the possession which gives value to man. No country, and no soil is dear, which does not produce this fruit; and every country and every soil, which holds out the prospect of it, however odious and pernicious in other respects, is sought with ardor and cultivated with industry. Among manufacturing and commercial nations, such attachment to the soil, as is styled love of country, loses force; for, among such, love of country is cherished, only in proportion, as the country furnishes the means of multiplying gains. Under such circumstances, the formation of national armies and county regiments will not only be difficult in formal execution; but even, if formal execution be effected, the end will be defective. The love of country or attachment to soil is absorbed in the pursuit of money. The farmer looks to gain exclusively; the labourer to hire. As there is no attachment to place, independently of profit, there are consequently difficulties, in such a state of society, militating against the formation of pure national armies, or regiments composed according to county or district of country; but, where the society is differently formed, that is, where the lands are held by feudal tenure, divided into small portions, cultivated for the sake of immediate subsistence in bread, rather than with the prospect of gain in money, the attachment to the soil is natural; it is ardent, even mixed with gratitude and respect; the connexion, with the surrounding objects, is intimate,—and habitual, as being frequently impressed. The love of the soil and attachment to the place of birth are warm: the circle of attachment expands; but it is an expansion of benevolence; it embraces the interests of the nation in its whole extent. It is in such a state

state of society, that national armies are produced in perfection. When formed of these simple materials, they act by one impulse, and, possessing a community of qualities, they unite in action for the production of one effect. This character belongs to an agricultural, a military, and a frugal people. These have the best chance of being virtuous; and if virtuous, who are likely to be happy. The glory of such a state of society is not dazzling and splendid; but its course is regular, correct, and progressive;—the period of its decline may be expected to be remote.

The above observations relate to the material or component parts of an army; but, in order that the fabric be rendered as perfect as possible, it is fit, that, while the parts be selected and arranged in a manner to ensure the operation of their best corporeal powers, supported by the aid of mental sympathies, the officer, (the person considered as communicating the impulse,) be of the same nation or county with the soldier, known and esteemed at his origin in civil life. The officer is not, strictly speaking, to be considered as a distinct or unconnected part: he is only a superior part of the instrument; his influence penetrating to the most distant parts of the organ, and animating the whole movement with a social and important spirit. If an army, or a regiment be constituted according to the rule of social connexion, its structure being homogeneous and consistent, from a correspondence of powers and principles, its conduct, in action, will be uniform and correct, amidst trials and dangers. Such cannot be the case, if the parts be promiscuously thrown together, without regard to radical connection of nation or county; or if officers who give the impulse, and, who ought to understand the powers of the military instrument in all its keys and tones,—(a knowledge only attained from study and experience of its nature), be allotted to the execution

execution of such duty, without previous connexion by nation or county, without the existence of an ordinance, calculated to plant, cultivate and perpetuate a similar social connexion among the parts.—In such case it cannot be firm in its positions, or harmonious in its movements. It is very well known that a soldier has certain common qualities belonging to a soldier, of whatever class or condition he may be; but it is also known that he has peculiarities according to nation, education and civil habits, which occasionally break through the covering of his military garb. If officers be not familiar with all the circumstances belonging to soldiers who are under their command, they are deficient in an essential part of their official qualifications. If they have no previous acquaintance with character and qualities from their social connexion in civil life, they do not soon learn it; or they little desire to learn it, where there exists an active transfer from regiment to regiment, as suits the private purposes. The officer, in such case, is not likely to form attachment to a class of men, from whom, the strong and eager hopes of promotion, occurring daily, separate him in idea; while, the soldier, on his part, forms little attachment to the officer, who is not likely to remain long his friend and protector. It is generally allowed, for it is often observed, that where men and officers associate long together, the officers moving regularly through the ranks in progressive advancement, an intimacy is formed among them as among the members of a family. The moral conduct in such cases is correct, and the military conduct is generally distinguished. The opposite case of change and fluctuation is less fortunate and less happy in its effects. The cause is peculiar; and it may be supposed that the source of it—the privilege of purchasing military rank—could only originate in a commercial country. The practice exhibits a singular combination of patronage and trade. The

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fundamental *cause* is not evident to the eye of the profane vulgar; the *effect* in obstructing the progress of military science is not obscure. Money commands rank, rank often brings riches; consequently rank, not science, is the general pursuit.

Tactic. 4. The form of the tactic, and spirit of the system of discipline, adopted and cultivated by military nations, is another consideration of high importance in estimating the character of troops. Independent of the relative scientific value of different systems of tactic in their own merits, it is of consequence, in an estimate of effects as applied to purposes, to consider how far they are original and national, or borrowed and foreign. The original and national form, will, it is presumed, be uniformly found to be the effective and victorious system in the field, where tried and fairly proved. The Roman nation cultivated tactic, and incorporated, with its own system of discipline, improvements from other people; but the basis of the discipline still remained Roman: in this manner, the discipline continued to be interesting to every one; because it was national,—felt and considered as such. Perfection, attained in practice, gave importance to the individual; for it was a warrant of security to life in the conflict of battle. The discipline was energetic in form; the bodily powers were exerted, and the mind was gratified with the exercise. The Prussian tactic appeared to be superior to others in its first appearance. It was, in some manner, original in the time of Frederick: the impulse of a master gave it force; for Frederick, who conceived the principle of improvement, knew how to animate the operation. The forms of this discipline are still correctly practised; but the movement is frigid, and the effect faint. If so with Prussian armies, it may be naturally supposed to be more so with others. Whatever is borrowed, and professedly borrowed, acknowledges a master, and is not fully disposable; for men do not

not apply in use, as their own, that which they only are learning. This is the case with the Prussian tactic, adopted as Prussian by foreign independent nations. If independent nations enter themselves as professed scholars in a foreign school, they acknowledge inferiority; thereby losing that importance of character which is necessary to give the tone of command: they move under constraint, for, in learning an external routine, they do not penetrate, with full force, into the principles of things. This may be supposed to apply to all those who professedly copy Prussian tactic: they labour to attain excellence in imitation; they cannot reach the grace of spirit which belongs to originality. Hence, whatever relative excellence may actually exist between Prussian tactic, and the tactic of other nations in their intrinsic merits, the professed copyist is still a copyist,—not likely to attain a name in war, while he moves undeviatingly in the trammels of foreign institution. The principle of imitation expels the desire of novelty; yet novelty and change of form produce impression; and impression is the cause of success in war. Imitation discourages pride; but pride of mind is the essence of military virtue. Hence military discipline, in order to be effective of conquest, must be original and national, calculated to make impression by its force and novelty; not servilely copied from a foreign source; for in such case, though the form may be imported, the spirit most probably remains behind.

It will not be deemed foreign to the present subject, to take a cursory view of the matter, as it relates to the British army. The English nation was a warlike nation in former times; it then practised a form of military discipline according to its own model. The English were eminent for skill in archery, before the invention of fire-arms: they have indeed generally excelled in the use of missile weapons at all times; for they possess a powerful arm, a cool temper, and a hand susceptible of mechanical skill. In the early part, and even till late in the last

 century,

century, the British army was formed in the close order of tactic, then common in Europe; the tactic, which the King of Prussia improved, and which he practised in his wars. The close order of battle and mechanic form of tactic were thus practised, on the continent of Europe, by British generals who fought battles according to systematic rule; but the arrangement was not professedly copied from the Prussian code. It was found on trial, that close order was not calculated for the irregular and desultory mode of fighting adopted by the Americans, in the American revolt. The form was consequently changed to one better suited to the circumstances of the case; the ranks were opened that the line might be extended to embrace a wider field; and, at the same time that it embraced a wider field, that it might present a less solid and stationary object to the destructive fire of marksmen. The British army thus assumed, by necessity, a new tactic and new form of discipline; and it attained eminence in the practice; for, though America was not subdued by British arms, the fault was not imputable to the errors of the discipline or the defects of the soldiery, who, distinguished for activity and courage, fully established superiority, in all cases, wherever the chances were equal:—the light troops were eminent. This change, in the mode of discipline, here adverted to, was casual. It has yielded again to the form of close order, the rules of which are now professedly borrowed from the Prussian code of tactic.

It must be left to military and better judges to fix the relative value between the open order, connected with individual activity and intelligence, and the close order of the Prussian tactic, which, obscuring the intellect, constrains the limbs to move in the measured routine of an automaton. In the first case, every individual has his own object in his eye,—activity of movement, originating within, belongs to every one. The operation is active, connected, in all its parts, by the influence of a common

common object,---restrained to move in cadence by an impulse of individual intelligence. Hence, it is not so much the authority or restraint of command, as the motive of intelligence, which cements the union and conducts the process in its course. In the other case, the ranks are uniform and regular, as if dressed by the mason's rule; the progress, on the parade or level plain, is like the progress of an animated wall; correct only, when the motion or expression of exertion, among the individual parts, is obscured, or covered up by the appearance of consolidated movement in general progression. The spine of the body is made to lean forward; its own rotatory motion, and its rotatory motion upon the haunches being in this case limited and restrained,—motions of ease, freedom and grace, are banished industriously from the parts, the aim being directed to produce an appearance of agglutination, for the sake of steadiness. The united effect of this order strikes the eye, by an impression of condensation and solidity of power; the effect of the other gives an impression of activity, the parts loosely connected by position, but cadenced in their movements by the operation of an internal animating cause.

5. The nature of the military service, in which troops are destined to act, has likewise a material influence in forming, improving and perfecting the military character; for character cannot be considered as established, till it has been tried and exercised in war. But as the nature of service may improve, so the nature of service may derange and overturn the established system of discipline, generating disorder and all manner of evils. In this manner, the British army may be supposed to be impeded in its road towards systematic perfection, as a whole, by the detached and desultory duties upon which it is frequently employed. In times of peace, the effective strength of regiments is usually reduced to a low standard: and regiments are more- Military service.

over, for the most part, situated in their quarters at such distance from each other, that there rarely occurs an opportunity of collecting a body of force, sufficient to execute manœuvres or to practise a train of duties, such as are supposed to be necessary to form soldiers for actual service in the field. In time of war, the military force of the nation is often divided and mixed with auxiliaries; whence it seldom has the opportunity of exercising and carrying on systematic war, on an extensive scale, with its own materials. Farther, a great part of it is expended in expeditions, usually connected with naval operations,---desultory in mode of conduct, and not of sufficient duration to improve and confirm the more useful qualities of the soldier. But above all, its numbers are diminished, its military discipline broken up and unhinged, by the conquest of unhealthy possessions in tropical countries, and by garrisoning unhealthy colonies. The troops, destined for colonial service, are destined to awe slaves from insurrection in times of peace: in war, the colonial enterprizes embrace but a narrow field; and they terminate usually by a rapid course, viz. the seizure of an island,---the work of a day; the occupation of the posts, the arrangement of a week; the consecration of the instruments of conquest,---or burial of the troops,---frequently completed in six months. This is a course of rapid progress; and, this, with other contingencies, to which the British army is exposed, from the extension of the empire and the varied nature of its concerns, impedes the progress of systematic improvement in military discipline; even deranges that which had been already formed, and put into a train of activity.

The causes, just now stated, may be supposed to operate considerably in diminishing, or rather in breaking the force and energy of the British army, viewed as a systematic whole. To counteract these causes, is an object of the first consequence in the present times; for, upon the perfection of the army, or military

litary energies of the nation, the safety of the empire depends. In former times, war was carried on, as it were for pastime;—undertaken for subordinate causes, it was satisfied with contingent advantages. Britain is now threatened with war for the purpose of subversion; and, as the case is home to the bosom of every one, it may be expected, that all the powers and energies of the nation will rise up in resistance. As it is obvious to every man, who has eyes to see and sense to understand, that the force or effective strength of the army is broken up and wasted in detachments sent to foreign colonies; and, as every British subject feels, that the defence of Great Britain and Ireland is the main or principal object of concern in the present times, and perhaps for some time to come, it seems unwise, or improvident to expend the means of national defence for the lure of colonial revenue;—for colonial revenue, however desirable, is not indispensable for the existence or safety of Great Britain. The case demands the consideration of the highest wisdom of the state. It may be deemed presumptuous to offer an opinion on a subject so important, and so far exceeding the sphere of an obscure individual's comprehension; but where good is intended error may be pardoned. With the assumption of this indulgence it is submitted, that, as the case stands at present, it may be found expedient to throw the military force of the British empire into two different forms, as allotted to two different purposes,---of different degrees of importance; viz. a national army, for the defence of the British islands, or for the prosecution of offensive war in Europe as connected with the safety of the British empire; a colonial army, for the protection of colonial possessions. The population of Britain is equal, and more than equal in point of number, for the defence of the British islands, in every form in which danger can present; and, as the defence of the soil of a free country is a

sacred

sacred duty,---not to be delegated to mercenaries, no person, not a native of the British islands, can possibly be permitted to enter the national army of Great Britain, or to draw the sword in defence of the asylum of the liberties of the British people. The colonies, on the contrary, were established for the sake of their produce; they are maintained and supported for the sake of their revenue: and, as gain is the object in all the relations between colonies and the parent state, such possessions may be left to the protection of mercenaries, or left without protection.

If the plan suggested, or some similar plan, be adopted for the permanent defence of the British islands, there will occur many points of arrangement requiring the consideration of wisdom and matured experience. It will perhaps be proper, that the extent of service, for the national army, be limited in time, as it is limited in object. If the term, for instance, be limited to seven years; but with the express condition, that no one be entitled to claim his discharge, though the time of service be expired, either during war, or under open threatenings of war, it may be fairly presumed that the better class of peasantry will volunteer military service: and, as military service holds up a high object in the case in question, the sentiment will grow and spread out, both with peasantry and gentry: the nation will become military and independent; if agricultural and frugal, it will be happy,---and its happiness will be secure. By the establishment of a national army, with service limited in time and object, the country will necessarily be filled with persons possessing military ardor, and perhaps military skill: the profession will be raised in estimation; and soldiers, who are defenders of their country from principle, rather than for hire, will stand above the level of the other subjects of the state. Further, if waste lands be improved, and converted into military farms, the means of subsistence

sistence will be multiplied; and, as the national soldier is a citizen and a labourer as well as a soldier, no part of the population will be totally withdrawn from the culture of the lands, on account of the exercise of arms. According to this suggestion, an army may be supported at small expence. All, or the most of what is necessary for its subsistence, may be furnished by its own labour. The military department, allotted to national defence, will then be in a manner complete in itself, or capable of acting with its own means. It will attain a high station in the state: acted upon by the generous motive of defending the native soil from invasion, and the feeble from oppression, its character will be held in veneration; while frugal and temperate in its habits, as living from the produce of its own labour, its conduct may be expected to be pure.---The colonial or mercenary army holds an inferior rank, as consisting of materials of a different description, acting from a different motive. As revenue is the object in planting and maintaining colonies; so the protection of colonies may be intrusted to means procured by money. Foreigners, and the refuse of domestic population may be hired for such purpose, without limitation in time or place. The means, though not of the first quality, will answer the end; for colonial force is an appearance to intimidate slaves from insurrection, rather than a reality to resist invasion, and destroy a foreign enemy; the approach of which to distant islands, in the face of a power which commands the navigation of the seas, cannot be supposed to be a certain or an easy operation; while the unhealthiness of climate will not fail speedily to complete the destruction of a new European force, confined, by the resistance of colonists, to the shores of a tropical island. The colonies, therefore, as they stand at present, may look with confidence to this source of defence, if the landholders prefer the soil of their possessions to the already

acquired

acquired product of their toil. But this is scarcely to be expected from colonists; a class of men, who having sought a foreign soil for gain, are ready to compound patriotism with the security of their wealth. They are not to be calculated upon, as possessing the qualities of obstinate resistance; their whole operations move in the mercantile channel; hence, their connexion and dependence on parent states may be considered as a mercantile concern, cherished while profitable, abandoned when expensive.

Some of the conditions, which act generally upon the military instrument, have been mentioned in the preceding pages; it is necessary, in the next place, to notice the radical principle which urges the fabric in its movement, and which cements and binds its parts together in action. The source of human action is referred to the operation of two different motives,---love and fear, —or a passion of desire, and an impression of aversion. The cause, which moves an army in action, is referable to one of these. To determine which of the two is the proper and effective one, is a question which implies some discussion; for opinions are divided on the subject. It may be observed in this place, that the object, which stands always prominent in the eye of an army, is the destruction of the enemy: the soldier, in the common view of the subject, is merely the operating instrument, acting under command, and fearing punishment if he slacken in his work. Fear of punishment, in such circumstances, is an external impulse which urges forward; but, to go forward, is irksome, and painful,---even formidable, as it is dangerous to life. The predicament is forlorn: the fear of death is before,---and to meet death is what man naturally avoids; the halbert of serjeants or the fear of punishment is in the rear, from which there is also an aversion. Action, in such case, is compulsory; for, like a ball on a billiard table, the subject struck by external force, strikes another, in virtue of

Motive.

of the impulse,---perhaps feebly, perhaps falsely, as respecting the view of the purpose. If the impression of fear, which threatens the rear, be stronger than the impression of the fear of danger from causes opposing in the front, the movement is progressive; if weaker, it recoils. This holds good both in moral and in physical action. The motive is here a necessity,---an external impelling necessity, balanced, in its action, by resistances which are obvious and calculable. It is aided, collaterally, in its forward progress by circumstances which direct and lead on. Hire, in reward of services; hopes of the spoils of a routed foe, growing into a passion of acquisition; dexterity in the use of arms, which, turning the balance of chances against the enemy, imparts artificial courage, may be reckoned among the principal of the encouraging causes. These aid or direct a forward action impelled by impression of fear; but they cannot be supposed to create a generous and heroic conduct, a firm and uniform movement; for they are not in themselves generous motives, consistent or uniform agents.

The celebrated Frederick, king of Prussia, is regarded in the present times as the model of tacticians. The principle, ostensibly assumed by him as the motive of action, is referable to an impression of fear,---primarily upon the Prussian soldier, ultimately upon the enemy. Frederick's success in war was great; it appeared astonishing in the eye of wondering nations, and it is referred to fear; but if fear, operating on the Prussian troops, was actually the cause of the Prussian success, the king must be supposed to have possessed a secret in the mode of applying it; for it is found to fail with others. It seems, however in reality, only the ostensible cause which struck the eye of the vulgar. The active principle, it is presumed, resided in other sources: the natural tendency of the assumed motive was even controuled, and guided to another and more effective

channel than what belonged to it. The causes were various. The king must be allowed, in the first place, to have carried tactic, or order in movement, to a high degree of perfection. This gave him a command of appearances, and, consistently with the impression of fear, an opportunity of applying his instruments with correctness to the vulnerable points. He knew the power of the impression of his own force; and the power of the impression of fear upon an ignorant enemy. He consequently calculated the effect of appearances, marshalling his means so as to appear formidable. He estimated the effect of fire-arms, both from execution and from noise; he, consequently, cultivated the manual industriously,---the exercise of loading expeditiously and of firing correctly in time. Both these have their share in ultimate effect; hence it may be presumed, that an enemy is driven from the field, by an impression connected with the superior noise of close and rapid firing, as well as by the superior just direction of fire operating a superior destruction. This was positively the case. But, though it is readily admitted that the King of Prussia, who carried the art of tactic, in its application to military purposes, to a high perfection, has a right to be ranked among the great names in war, it scarcely will be maintained by any one, who studies man in the intimate foundations of his nature, and who views him in his various relations with others, that this consummate commander (if his ostensible principle was his real one) understood, or applied in practice, in the formation of his army, the genuine spring of action which ought to animate true military discipline. His aim was ostensibly directed to extinguish passion or sentiment,---to render a soldier an automaton or machine, susceptible of no impression but obedience, enforced through fear of punishment. According to this principle, the most timid man will prove the best soldier, which is a solecism in common

Ostensible Prussian principle.

mon sense. The case requires elucidation;---the success of the King of Prussia may be explained on other principles than those commonly assumed.

Principle generated by circumstances.

It was hinted in a preceding part of this work, that, as the conduct of the Prussian soldier was often heroic, there was reason to believe that such conduct was engendered in the mind, by causes not comprehended in the calculation of Frederick, but rather arising in spite of his principle. It must be admitted, and the merit may be reckoned due to the king, that the Prussian soldier acquired, in the course of long practice correctly instituted, a high degree of tactical perfection,—precision in movement and expert management of arms. This constitutes skill. So educated, he was courageous, and cool in danger; for, conscious of superior skill, he was more confident of destroying the enemy, than of being himself destroyed. Thus prepared he felt an impression of courage from skill; his action was, moreover, animated by the hopes of spoil. Hence, he fought with more courage, and more animation than belongs to the sole impression of force or fear of punishment, impelling externally on the rear. Success was the fruit of skill and exertion; and, glory following success, the ideas were exalted to eminence. A sentiment of pride and self-importance, thus planted in the soldier's mind, contributed to improve and maintain a character of good conduct,—even where the good conduct was an accidental acquisition. An opinion of pre-eminence might be esteemed the right of the Prussian soldier, for his conduct was distinguished; but there probably also arose, in the mind of the native Prussian, a sentiment of indignation, resulting from a national feeling. The native Prussian, roused by the combinations which were directed against the independence of his country, was fierce in defence of the soil which had given him food. The foreign or forced recruit, incorpo-

rated with the native or voluntary soldier, was carried away in the current; his resentment of injuries, or his sensibilities of attachment to other scenes of life, were absorbed in the glory of a rising fame; a military enterprize was always prominent in the eye; the reward,---glory, advantage or repose were placed behind the object immediately in view, which was the defeat of the enemy. The mind of the soldier, which the king had intended to convert into a blank, was thus filled with one idea,---an idea of glory, or a taste of military fame. It assumed a character; and this character was maintained artificially by the removal of all minor distracting causes; for, Frederick, who undervalued mankind, and who attempted to extinguish the active operations of mind, appears, in a manner unknown to himself, to have concentrated mental energy by fixing its action to one point,---an active sentiment of glory, rather than a slavish sense of fear. By repressing its wanderings, he aided its main exertion; for all the activity was directed into one channel;---and that was military. Hence the grand operation of mind was strengthened, instead of being annulled, by the rigor of this rigid discipline. The king's character was eminent---his glory was prominent in the eye of every soldier rather than his fear; and all hearts were moved to follow his will by a reverence, connected with a pride attaching to themselves.*

It

* The author, not being acquainted with the principles of military tactic as detailed in books, may probably have committed an error, in adjudging constraint and fear of punishment to be the sole operating motive in the mechanical or Prussian system of discipline. The impression of fear is assumed as the ostensible cause, operating upon the soldier in the course of his training. This is visibly demonstrable in effect; but while this is so, it is not at the same time maintained, that the King of Prussia was not aware, that some other thing besides an impression of fear of authority was wanting to render an army victorious in action. It is admitted in the first instance, that constraint or an impression of fear keeps a body of men together, and serves to point the face towards the dangers of the hostile object; but, as a

flock

It is admitted that the principle of constraint and fear, ostensibly acted upon by the King of Prussia in carrying a system

Genuine principle.

flock of sheep,—which driven by the force of dogs and men and other constraint, stops short at a brook or other cause which impedes its course, even flies back with force, unless an object of attraction arises on the other side soliciting an effort of courage; in the same manner, an army, constrained by force and impelled by fear to face a cause of destruction, recoils from danger where the threatenings are strong; unless a prominent point, arising beyond the danger, attract the eye and solicit a forward movement by an internal motive.—It thus happens, that the tactician models an army for war, arranges it for battle and keeps its face pointed towards a hostile object by impressions of fear, pressing on the rear. It advances forward with a firm and measured pace, while no material interruptions obstruct the course; it slackens or proves restive where impediments arise; it recoils when difficulties multiply; or, when causes present themselves which threaten danger. In this case, the mere tactician, who only calculates the force of the impelling cause, continues to press on the rear, ignorant of any other mode of operation: he may sometimes succeed in his view; but, if his force be unequal to the resisting force, the movement, instead of advancing, is converted to a retrograde: on the contrary, the man of genius animates his instrument with a different spirit; he places a forward object in the eye of the soldier, which, operating by a power of attraction, produces a forward current which overwhelms or surmounts the resistance.

If this subject be viewed in its relations with the Prussian army, it may be remarked, that the character of Frederick stood prominent in the eye of the Prussian soldier. It was in itself greatly conducive to the success of his arms. The presence of a monarch animates an army, and the example of a king sharing the dangers of a soldier, makes a common, but an exalted bond of interest and union through the whole extent of the operation. It was this, not the fear of punishment, which made the Prussian army so respectable in the seven years war. The presence and character of the king may be supposed to have operated generally: he was viewed only through victory: but, besides the charms of the royal presence, Frederick had artificial resources, which supported the courage of his troops, unconnected with the fear of command. These were constant activity of movement, which did not permit the mind to look back, or wander to distant objects; a tremendous noise of platoon and other firing in action, as it were industriously contrived to occupy and absorb the attention, and thereby drown the suggestions of fear. In the Austrian army, the ordinary generals—good officers without genius, press the machine forward by the impulse of fear: when the resistance is great, the movement does not advance; on the contrary, it recoils. The character of the Archduke Charles here stood prominent: it acted as a charm and inspired the soldier with a thirst of glory, which is placed on the other side of victory. But besides example inspiring a thirst of glory, the Archduke employed artificial means,---not to increase fear of himself, but to diminish fear of the enemy. He charged in cadence—to the sound of music which filled the ears with a sound of triumph. The Russians pursue the same system of discipline as the Prussians and Austrians;

system of discipline, and practice of the art of war to perfection, did more than might have been expected from it; but it must be allowed, at the same time, that it did not do all, as a principle of fear, which a principle, applying more generally, and cementing more intimately the action of the military body by an internal principle of mind, might have done. It is competent to every man's understanding, that a principle, which animates to action as a natural desire of the individual, as well as a joint duty of the organized collective body, is a more consistent, and as such a more powerful principle, than external impression upon sense, restraining arbitrarily one part which is too forward, and stimulating another which is too backward; in order that the whole may act in concert for the accomplishment of a common purpose,—from which there is naturally an aversion. In the former case, the motive is placed in an internal sentiment; the movement is, in some manner, innate, and the effect harmonious. In the latter, the impulse is external; the action is the consequence of an impression upon sense,---uncertain, as liable to a variety of contingencies; for the impulse, in order to be effective of uniform movement, must not

trians, the same constraint and fear of punishment in forming the troops for military duties. They find on trial that the utmost extent of fear, pressing on the rear, often fails in impelling the machine forward where causes of resistance are strong. They even find that it stagnates or retrogrades. In such case, the character of Suwarrow, as a prominent object placed in the eye of the soldier, inspired an enthusiasm which renewed the movement; Suwarrow himself, assuming a still higher object than his own authority, placed a priest with a crucifix before his grenadiers in some of his most desperate undertakings. Hence the difference between a mechanic and a man of genius intrusted with the command of an army. The one operates mechanically by the impulse of fear on the slavish passions of man; the other insensibly insinuates and incorporates himself with his soldiers, forming them into heroes;---hence the same instruments, independent of the mechanical mode of application, move forward to victory or recoil in defeat, according to the mode in which they are animated.

only

only be uniformly and constantly applied to its point; but it must be calculated and estimated, according to the powers and circumstances of the individual parts to which it is applied. The rule of applying such power is nice. It requires great discernment; and, in as much, as the combined movement is an effect of external force, the action is constrained in its sphere; the operation in such case can scarcely be expected to be cordial and energetic in its whole extent. As this is a necessary result of action in consequence of a threatening external force, it is plain that military operation, originating from such a source and regulated by such a measure, is liable to uncertainty and caprice. The operation of one principle, acting internally upon the mind, gives, on the contrary, one colour to all the external actions; and, as the value or effect of armies consists in union of action, the operation of an internal principle or sentiment, is that which must be sought for, in order to animate and bind together the exertions of a mixed body. The soldier, impressed by this sentiment, moves towards his object in a powerful course, without deviating to the right or the left. The object is always in his eye; and, as attainment of it is the order of his duty, it is also the passion of his soul. The principle, in view, assumes occasionally the warmth of a passion, and has some variety of modification; but it recurs radically to a sentiment of pride of honor. It operates with different force, under different circumstances, among different nations, and in different subjects; but it is still the sentiment of pride of honor which gives a character of pre-eminence to the soldier. It is a modification of this principle which urges the virtuous citizen to adopt the profession of arms; it is the matured impression which conducts him to forward action, and which supports him with firmness in the field of battle. If this sentiment be supported, in its operations, by the spirit of religion, the act is pure,

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and the effect sublime; for, as the seal of religion is that which perfects human virtue, the action, sanctioned by religion, departs not from the path of justice and truth,---in military language the path of honor. If such be the paramount sentiment in the mind of the soldier, individually and generally, joined with perfect tactic in movement, and superior practical skill in the use of arms, an army, though small in number, may be deemed irresistible and invincible; for its impression is as the impression of one man, and, however reduced, it still organizes itself as one body, so as to retain its proportional force; an effect only attainable from the action of the limbs being uniform, and the motive of action proceeding from the genuine source,---which is pride of honor, supported by the sanction of religion.

This high sentiment of pride of honor, which duly cultivated and well understood in application, may be supposed to command the success of war, can only have place in wars, undertaken in a just cause, such as---defence of liberty and national independence. In this case it only belongs to the one party; while, it properly belongs to neither, where wars are only contentions for spoils and for advantages of one over another. In mercenary armies and in the armies of great nations, where political causes, covered by a thick veil from the eye of the vulgar, are causes of active warfare, such sentiment is not likely to originate, or to operate. Hire is here the reward of service; and, as the service is irksome or dangerous, the work is done unwillingly; for as slaves, in the West India islands, work in cadence by the sound of the whip, so mercenary soldiers execute the mechanical round of their duties by the threatenings of the rod, in fear of correction. Necessity forces an unwilling act, sometimes animated and relieved by the hopes of spoil and plunder, but not supported in consistent activity by the operation of such motive. Where the hope of spoil is an incentive

to

to war, the movement is animated, but it is animated unequally: it separates and divides into many channels, losing union, and abandoning the sentiment of military glory for the possession of wealth. On the contrary, where war is undertaken, in defence of liberty and national independence, it may be said to move in its highest sphere. It engenders the pride of honor; for it implies the defence of the feeble, the protection of the ashes of the dead, and the security of inheritance for those who are yet unborn. Where this pride of honor, as a sentiment, directs the movement, the effect is brilliant; that such sentiment is the operating motive in all great achievements, notwithstanding great authorities are of a contrary opinion, may be shewn in the military history of nations who profess to act upon another principle---the common principle of fear and constraint. It cannot be denied, even by the advocates of Prussian discipline, that the impulse of fear, operating upon external sense, has often proved insufficient to urge the machine forward in its course, even to maintain the mechanical connexion of its parts. The hopes of plunder and other unworthy motives have failed to animate the movement; a sentiment of honor, or rather an impulse of enthusiasm, arising as by a charm, has inspired energy and cemented the union of action necessary for the accomplishment of the object. This opinion receives proof in the recent fact, that the Austrian troops were frequently defeated by the French in the late war; that they were generally victorious under the Archduke Charles, where an effective army was under his command. There is no proof in this case that the form of the mechanical discipline was changed, that the impulse from the impressions of fear was increased, or that the general plan of battle was better concerted; yet the result was different as defeat or victory,—an effect only to be explained by the supposition, that, an impulse of energy was communicated to the

mind of the soldiery by the electrising influence of the hero;---there appears to be no other cause applicable to the case. A similar, and a still more strongly marked example, is found in the instance of Suwarrow. The impulse of fear, the acknowleged principle of the Russian discipline, ceased, in many cases, to operate a forward movement with the Russian army: the common powers were exhausted; the mechanical union of the parts was even broken and dissolved. In such case, the influence of enthusiasm, or the inspiration of religion called up by a skilful chief, animated the machine, added vigour to the movement, and cemented union of action; so that, the efforts being directed to the just point of attack, the object was accomplished with impression and effect, though found to be impracticable with ordinary means. This principle of action is allied with love, inspiring a confidence: it is infused into an army by the presence of a great general and a good man. It was the greatest force of the amiable Turenne, who held the minds of the soldiery by a bond of love, operating in all difficulties and under all hardships. But, though few men are to be found in the history of nations, so perfectly good and amiable as Turenne; yet it is felt, and uniformly witnessed, that the presence of a high and beloved authority, in the field, serves to rouse the pride of honor, to encourage enterprize, and to absorb in its vortex the excess of sensibilities, which are the organs of fear.*

A great

* The mere presence of a great character, in the command of an army, is one of the strong causes which ensures good conduct in action. It imparts such confidence to the mind as precludes the chance of panic; a circumstance which very readily occurs, where no great and prominent object is placed in view to engross and bind together the mind of the individual parts. The qualities, which give this influence of character to the military officer, are different; but they must always be original, and they must stand at an extreme point of excellence in all. It is admitted that education is capable of forming, or rather of perfecting a good officer; nature only is capable of forming a great one.—Of the conquerors and eminent military

A great and good general is thus in himself an host; for his influence, insinuating itself into every member of the military body,

military characters, who have, at different times, astonished the world, Alexander the Great and Charles the Twelfth of Sweden are two of the most singular; the latter of whom was the most heroic and most extraordinary man, of whom history has left any record. An army, which had Alexander or Charles in its eye, was different from itself in its simple nature. It imbibed a share of their spirit, became insensible of danger, and heroic in the extreme. In this manner, the Swediſh nation, forming itself on the model of Charles, furnished an example of the most heroic soldiers, and of the most highly disciplined and high-minded officers, that ever appeared on the theatre of the world. The character, in this case, was formed by contemplating something superiorly strong and determined, of stoic firmness, but still human. On the other hand, an impulse of courage is sometimes given, and extraordinary achievements are sometimes performed by an operation upon the mind, inspiring an enthusiasm, and carrying success beyond the usual bounds of success—by a species of prodigy. Sertorius in former times, and Suwarrow of late years, may be considered as furnishing examples. These are rare geniuses: there are others, who unite all hearts in affection, by manifestations of love and kindness. The Grecian general Xenophon, the Black Prince of England, and the Count de Turenne may be ranked in this class. These are the amiable and humane leaders of armies. There are others who operate upon the mind and gain confidence by an impression of success, connected with an opinion of superior skill. Cæsar, Marlborough, and perhaps Frederick the Second may be reckoned of this number. These are the ambitious conquerors,---professed men of war. Some, on the contrary, seize the sympathies of the mind by acts of generosity, as sharers in common dangers, or champions of a common cause. Gustavus Adolphus, Scander Beg and Sir William Wallace stand in this list.—These seem to be the outlines of the character of military commanders; and in all these forms there seem to be marks of peculiar genius, qualifying the general, by heroic strength of sentiment, enthusiasm or inspiration, excess of kindness, high measure of knowledge, or unusual generosity and courage, to influence the mind and lead the multitude, as it were, in chains, to the accomplishment of heroic acts. The ideas are absorbed in the admiration of the leader; the dangers, which threaten life, make no impression. Hence, the high character of a general may be considered as a pledge of an army's good conduct. Its conduct is heroic, because a distinguished general stands prominent in its eye; on the contrary, its conduct is precarious, where it has nothing to look to in the character of its commander. Courage, displayed by a general—even to excess, is the first charm in a soldier's eye; a participation of hardships and fatigues unites him with his army by a common bond; it binds his soldiers to him, as to a sufferer in a common cause. These are obvious reasons of attachment, and may be calculated in their effect; there is still a hidden charm in the character of a general which the most inquisitive cannot fathom. The real spirit of military genius, which is felt, but which cannot be measured, operates on

body, connects and binds the whole together imperceptibly, but firmly and securely. Such confidence, in a leader, is the charm against a panic. And thus, as every history furnishes proof, that brilliant military acts are to be dated to the animated operation of an internal principle, rather than to the constrained operation of an external impulse of fear, it follows as a necessary consequence, that the cares, in forming an army, should be directed to plant and studiously to cultivate such principle in the soldier's breast. When the pride of honor, which may be termed the military principle, has been improved into a passion, or animated sentiment, reared to a sufficient growth, it forms a habit, which renders an army invincible; for an army, correctly formed, and acting from this principle, may be killed, but it will not be routed. The means of accomplishing so desirable

the mind of a soldier. The extent of original genius is not known, even to the possessor; for it only arises on occasion, as acted upon by strong causes. Where the extent is seen so as to be measured, (and soldiers are ready in discerning) the reverence of authority is diminished and confidence is weakened; for the commander appears, like others, a man formed of common materials. As a general's authority diminishes with the army when the extent of his genius is seen; and as nothing in fact is original, which does not arise from original impression, a general, in order to be great and original, must see every thing with his own eye, that he may judge of every thing with his own judgment; for otherwise he has no correct knowledge. He may receive hints and informations; but no man, intrusted with the command of an army, can trust to others for advice in the great conflict of battle. A council of generals, like a consultation of physicians, usually terminates with ineffective measures. The act of genius is a first impression, not to be mended by revisal; but that the first impression be pure, the subject should be known in its fundamental principles, and in all its extent. The human character is the subject of the military officer's study; for it is upon man that his trials are made. He must therefore know, in the most precise manner, what man can do, and what he cannot do; he must also know, the means, by which his exertions are to be animated to the utmost extent of exertion. The general's duty is consequently an arduous duty: the capacity of learning it is the gift of nature; the school is in the camp and the cottage, rather than in the city and the palace; for a man cannot know things in their foundations, till he sees them without disguise; as he cannot judge of the hardships of service till he has felt them in experience. He may then judge of them correctly, and apply his rules without chance of incurring error.

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an object are various;—to detail them, with impression, will not be an easy task.

When the soldier has been trained in the use of arms,—for offence or defence; and when his exertions have been measured, so that he may be arranged in the fabric respectively according to the power of his exertion, the foundations of union of action are supposed to be justly laid. But, as a provision is thus made for uniformity in the capacity of moving; so similar care ought to be taken, for ensuring uniformity of temper in the cause or spirit which moves. Passion, or desire of something wanting, moves an animal body to act. The passion, which engenders a military action, is known; and, it is supposed to be placed before the eye in a prominent point of view at all times. To render the operation of this passion strong, uniform and steadily directed to the just point, is the aim of military discipline; the purpose being one in design, the moving principle one, the exact measure of the power, and capacity of the acting parts renders the action one in execution.

Application to purposes.

It is necessary to be remarked in this place, that discipline of mind, though an important part in military education, is little regarded in the common institutions of military training. The authority of Frederic, the great king of Prussia, which dictates to the regular powers of Europe on the subject of tactic, seems to discourage the culture of mind in a soldier. Frederic calculated a soldier's value by the quantity and appearance of the animal mass; for his principle led him uniformly to attempt to operate upon fears,—upon the eyes and ears of the enemy, by a great figure of carcase and a great noise, from a close, rolling fire. The principle is deceptious; but the practice, like most other deceptions, astonished by its novelty, and answered the purposes of the inventor. The king of Prussia was victorious, probably, in some part, owing to his new

new tactic; but Prussians and others, exercised after the Prussian model, have been beaten by persons, who possessed little skill in the mechanical art;—but who were active and intelligent,—enthusiastic and skilled in the practical use of arms. An army, in solid column and close order of mechanic array is formidable in aspect; the skilful, the courageous and active is formidable in the point of actual conflict. The one shews an appearance; the other possesses a reality. It is the reality which is sought for; and it is an important object to search for its causes, so as to be able to give them effect in action.

Mechanical courage.

A soldier is supposed to possess, from nature, the radicals of a soldier's profession, which are courage to attempt, and valour to maintain. The foundations are laid in the physical constitution; connected with physical and moral qualities, as products of race and institution; but the finishing of the edifice is the work of professional culture. In this manner, while the radical fund of courage is given by nature, it is improved, nay almost created by the conscious possession of superior skill in the use of arms. This is mechanical, and improveable on mechanical principles. Next to the conscious possession of mechanical skill as a quality of the instrument, the knowledge of the mode of just application to the vulnerable points comes forward as operating effect. The rule of application belongs to the leader or chief; but the confidence that such knowledge is possessed by the leader, is necessary to give courage to the soldier.

Besides these accessions of courage, which are derived from mechanical skill in the use of arms and confidence in the abilities of the leader or chief, the qualities of mind, peculiar to individuals and to armies, demand a judicious attention and particular regard. The first object, in this investigation, is directed to ascertain the degrees of perfection of the existing qualities;

qualities;—2d, to exalt the sentiment of courage; 3d, to blunt physical sensibility, which is the vehicle of fear.

The first is known, in an estimation of the qualities of the recruit, and has been already examined. The causes of the 2d,---the incentives to deeds of enterprise, are numerous. Men court danger from vanity, from love of fame, &c. or they encounter it for love of gain. Such motives are not respectable, for they are not warrantable: in order therefore, that the mind may be taught to move uniformly, in a steady progress, to the object of its enterprise viewed steadily in all its bearings, the motive must be honourable, and just in its own nature; for the mind of a soldier, while it embraces the whole field of honor, is shut to every foreign object. As it has been shewn, that one system of discipline is applied to form the corporeal part to move in correct and uniform order; so another is necessary to be instituted, in order to form the mental idea to move in one channel, insensible of every impression, except the pride of honor, which is duty.—This must always stand forward, in a prominent point of view, in the mind of the soldier.

Causes acting on the mind.

In forming the mind to move in this channel, and in this channel only, it is necessary that the view be fixed uniformly upon a high object. Heroes of romance are finished models; consequently, heroes of romance are judiciously placed before the eye of the young soldier as a land mark; for, where all is heroism and virtue, the mind expands to all that is excellent;—it is stimulated with a love of valorous deeds as its natural pursuit.—A soldier is not formed to reason, but to feel; and, if enthusiasm, for what is grand and honourable, be incorporated into the constitution of the mind by a well directed education, the steps, in the military career, will be grand and the conduct firm. But, as every nation has its own partialities; and as the mind is aggrandised by viewing what is great, and warmed

Forming of the mind.

warmed by viewing what is connected with itself, the ideas of the English soldier might, perhaps, be expanded, the courage animated, and the valour confirmed, by placing, before the eye, a picture of the adventurous Richard in the Holy Land, of the generous Black Prince in France, or, of the bold Henry the Fifth, at the battle of Agincourt. The warlike energies of the Scotch might be expected, in a similar manner, to be excited by the feats of the Douglasses, or, the more heroic achievements of the generous Wallace. In the system of instruction here alluded to, the whole energies of the mind are turned into one channel, directed steadily towards one object; so that the eye being permitted to look upon that only which belongs to a heroic subject, the repeated impression, bating a natural defect, succeeds in forming a hero. For, as the instruction is pointed uniformly to a heroic or military object; and, as but one channel of sensitive organs is open for impression, the mind is only susceptible of one sentiment;—it reasonably may be expected to be a strong one.

Collateral aids.

The impression made upon the mind, and the sentiment, planted in the breast, by the mode of instruction suggested in this place, may be further confirmed and engrafted in the habit by collateral aids, so as to display itself in action with the force of a law of nature. Among these, the influence of music holds a distinguished place. Heroic songs and warlike ballads, the sentiment of which is strong and the expression simple, touching the loftiest key in the human mind, urge a forward movement, in the military channel, with an overbearing impulse; so that a thirst of military fame, planted in youth and nourished by such culture, absorbs every idea of the man, converting the whole organism into a machine, the soul and sentiment of which is war. But, in order that the advantage, in view, be derived, in due force, from the effects of music and heroic song,

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here alluded to, it is necessary, as the sentiment is grand and the expression simple, that the means be suited to the subject, and applied with judgment to the circumstances of the case. Military music, it is to be observed, occupies much of the attention of military persons in the present times, the trumpets, clarinets, serpents, tambours, tambourines, &c. bearing, in some corps, a high proportion to the firelocks. But, notwithstanding the extent of the musical apparatus and the number of the performers, it cannot be said with truth that the effect contributes aid to forward a military purpose,—by rousing courage or confirming the military bent of the mind. The dress, indeed, is gaudy, as captivating the eye; the instruments numerous and sonorous, as impressing the ear; the harmony complex, as exercising the judgment of masters and amateurs in the art; but the style is often foreign: and, to persons who have no science in harmonic composition, the masterly execution is only a crash of jarring sounds, which scarcely pleases for the time, and which leaves no impression of sentiment in the mind,—for it is not understood. Soldiers are not connoisseurs in music; but they are capable of feeling what is simple and natural: they must, therefore, be acted upon by the key of their feelings; and, on this ground, it is clear, that military music, in order to produce a military effect, must be grand, but simple, expressing a sentiment which penetrates and seizes the heart, not a varying and artful sound which tickles, but which penetrates no further than the ear. The effect sought for belongs only to a simple instrument and a national composition; the influence of which, judiciously applied, seizing the sympathies of the mind, leads an army, in cadence and union, to the accomplishment of otherwise impossible things. The proofs are numerous in history.

3. The impulse of music, judiciously directed, serves to inflame

courage, or confirm valour in severe conflicts. The effects of spirits and opium blunt sensibility to impressions of danger; and, in this manner, spirits and opium are among the aids resorted to in difficult circumstances: They are however less certain in their effects than music; and they are infinitely dangerous in their consequences. A certain portion of spirits or of opium blunts sensibility, absorbing the distracting cares and apprehensions of danger which threaten life; and, as spirits and opium are capable of producing this effect, without obscuring the prominent object placed in view as the aim of attainment, they are consequently sometimes employed, as means contributing to the accomplishment of great purposes. But, though great acts sometimes appear to have been achieved by the employment of such means, the boundary which defines the rule of application is so nice, varying in almost every individual, and the danger from transgression in the measure so great, that spirits and opium can scarcely be numbered among the regular aids for increase of effect in military service. The just measure absorbs fear; the excess produces insensibility, and paralyses exertion.

The means or accessory aids, noticed in this place, have been employed in war on various occasions. They are powerful in their places; but they are better calculated to produce effect in actions of impulse, as storming of works and charging columns, than in a series of hardships and fatigues. The action of the mind is naturally connected with the physical condition of the body;—to a certain extent, the operation is mutual. When the physical condition is weak, faint and fluctuating, the mind sinks or wavers, requiring the operation of something higher than mere physical nature to support it in a forward course. This something is ideal,—a sentiment of high interest, preferably to all an impression of religion; a conviction, that the

the motive of the conduct is just, and that perseverance, in just conduct, has the approbation of the Deity. It is the impression of such religion, which binds man to his duty in all difficulties, and through all trials. The essence of it resides in purity of mind; and the practice of it is the perfection of active virtue. But, pure in its own nature, it abhors plunder and rapine; for plunder and rapine are unjust. It is averse from war; and, it only sanctions the drawing of the sword, in defence of human rights and independence, against the violence and oppressions of the powerful. If the mind of a soldier be fortified, by the approbation of this pure religion, the conduct is firm, as it is pure,—not to be shaken by the terrors of danger or death; for, where religion sanctions the end, the act of the arm is strong, and the care of life is committed to Providence. This sentiment of religion is pure, and warm, ardent, even enthusiastic in pursuit of its object; but it is still clothed with the benevolence and charity, which are due to all who are weak and defenceless. It is the religion of Jesus Christ,—a religion, which pure in itself, does no wrong to any one; but, which pursues the purpose which it judges to be right, amid all the obstacles which arise, or which can arise in the affairs of men. If this principle cement the action of the military fabric, organized correctly according to the capacity of powers, the movement will be regular and harmonious; and, in all cases, where the mass of force is nearly balanced, the impulse will be irresistible and the effect decisive.*

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* The sentiment of religion was a prominent object in the mind of soldiers in former times. It led Mahomedans to fight with phrensy, and Christians to meet death with heroism. It may now be said to be banished, both in form and substance, from the greater number of the armies of modern Europe. The Swedes, who stand alone in the history of nations, as contending for the independence and liberty of the human mind under Gustavus Adolphus, were animated in their course, and supported in their dangers by the influence of this pure

 sentiment.

Conclusion.

The art of forming and training of troops is conducted, in the regular governments of Europe, upon a systematic and regular plan. The fabric is mechanical; the application of the force supposed to be subject to a calculable rule. But though education is capable of forming such a fabric, just and correct in appearance, the infusion of a spirit, qualified to animate the movement, is a secret committed only to few. As human nature is the same in all countries and in all ages, the fundamental views are the same radically, though modified superficially according to different forms. Hence there have been some, at all times and in all places, who have attempted to move armies to their duty by fear of punishment; others, who have wished to effect the same purpose by an impression of love. The experiment has been made in instances without number; and it is found after all trials, that neither the pure fear nor pure love of a commander are sufficient to animate an army, strongly and consistently in the various conflicts of war. Fear and love are coverings: behind them must lurk the spirit of

sentiment. The form was preserved, and the spirit continued in the time of Charles the Twelfth; for, even then, the Swedish troops did not quit their arms, or touch the spoils of the field, till they presented themselves formally before the God of battles to return thanks for their victories. It may be admitted, that an army, impressed in this manner, must have attained a high state of mental discipline,—a state of discipline, to which no impression from fear of the authority of man can ever carry it. Hence it may be inferred, that if religion were of no value on its own account, it might be supposed, that, as there is no other impression, so capable of producing a firm and consistent conduct in danger and under difficulty, it would still be cultivated with a view to its political use. It is however gone into disrepute; and it necessarily must be banished from armies, formed in the rigour of the new discipline, which aims at converting man into an instrument—without a mind: the practice of religion implies an exercise of mind, elevated to the highest object of human conception. Where this object is placed prominent in the eye, all other actions move subordinately, with an irresistable current, in a regular channel to their subordinate purpose. It is thus, that where a military action has the sanction of religion, even where the religion is not holy, the torrent is not to be withstood by those who are animated by an inferior motive. The examples are numerous, where the priest has led, when the general could not drive.

genius

genius which cannot be fathomed; for, whether a commander be kind or severe, he cannot be great and prominent in the eye of the army, unless he be admired for something unknown. It is thus, that troops can only be properly animated by the superior and impenetrable genius of a commander, whose character stands before the army as a mirror, fixing the regards while it is bright and impenetrable, losing its virtue when its surface is soiled or softened so as to receive an impression. That a commander be a mirror, capable of animating an army, he must be impenetrable; but he cannot be impenetrable without possessing original genius. An original genius does not know its own powers; consequently it cannot be known or measured by others. It thus commands attention, and it gives a covering of protection, in reality or idea, which proves a security against the impressions of fear.

CHAPTER V.

General Economy, and Management of Troops upon Service.

WHEN an army is organized mechanically according to the plan suggested in this place, instigated to movement by pride of honor, and cemented in action by the operation of a pure religion, it may be supposed to have attained the highest point of perfection of which it is, or can be capable: But in order, that it may retain the perfection so acquired, or be fit, physically and morally, to continue its military functions under all the circumstances incident to actual war; a variety of matters, relating to economy and management, call for a minute attention in arrangement, as essential to the production of correct effect in application to purposes. The due appreciation of such matters is ordinarily connected with a knowledge of the constitution and powers of an animal body; consequently, the explanation of the principles, and the formation of the requisite rules in such management, may be supposed to be best understood by persons, who have studied the laws and economy of the human constitution as a part of professional education, and, who have seen the extent of its powers tried in variety of situations in the course of military service. Among the most material of the points to be considered, under this head, may be reckoned diet, clothing and exercise, as conducive to health; management of health, and measure of physical means, in actual service,

Necessity of economy.

service, in different climates. Such knowledge is important; it being necessary, in all cases, to husband the animal powers with economy, in order that they be uniformly preserved in a condition capable of producing effect in the point of action.

SECTION I.

Diet.

Spare and simple diet.

A WELL-concerted and frugal rule of diet is a subject of the first importance in armies; but frugality at the table looks like poverty: As such, it has little attraction, and few are the advocates who recommend it; for the experience of the usefulness is known only to those who observe and reason, and those are not the most numerous part of society. On this head, a strong and deep rooted prejudice prevails in the greater part of the island of Great Britain, a prejudice which will not be easily eradicated; for the ear is deaf to the admonition which prescribes limits to the indulgence of the appetite. A full body, both in man and beast, is considered as a condition, connected with great animal power. A full diet of animal food is believed to be a cause which serves to expand and fill the body. A full body, connected with an appearance of animal power, being the product of full living; a rule of full living is consequently enjoined as the means of attaining this desirable acquisition. This is common opinion and common practice. It must however be called to mind in this case, that appearance and reality are not precisely the same thing; and, if the present subject be viewed in its true light, it is sufficiently evident, by inferences drawn from experience, that the power alluded to, if in reality power, is not the kind of power which is most useful

useful in the trials of military service. The impulse of brute force, connected with weight of body,—the power ostensibly derived from full living, is rarely brought into action in the field of battle; the force, connected with energy of movement, —rapid in seizing opportunities of acting, and patient in enduring toil in conflict, is the useful quality of the soldier in the practice of modern warfare. It is supposed by persons, who assume the credit of understanding the structure of the animal fabric, that high living, or a large measure of animal food, is calculated to increase physical force, and to impart unusual power of exertion to the consumer. The opinion has been formed on partial grounds, being drawn from the example of a nation, which, consuming animal food in large proportion, is found to be eminent in exertion above most others. The fact, as relating to exertion, is not denied; the cause, assigned, is not admitted: For though the English, who consume animal food largely, are powerful in force, the Spartans, who were rigidly abstemious, or rather stinted in the measure of their diet, according to the doctrine of the present times, were among the most courageous, certainly the most determined soldiers, who ever appeared on the theatre of war. The Swiss, in the days of their glory, occupied a high station among military nations; yet, as the Swiss were a simple and a virtuous people in their morals; so they were a frugal and homely people in their manner of living. The highlanders of Scotland rank in the same class with the Swiss and Spartans. Their virtues in war are known; their food was, and is, even now, coarse and homely. Animal food rarely fell to the lot of the Scottish peasant, till within these very few years; yet the Scottish peasant was, at all times, an excellent soldier,—ardent in courage, and powerful in the close conflict of battle. It may hence be inferred, and the fact is demonstrative, that full living does not

not increase positive power in the act of exertion; for Spartans and Swiss were strong, as well as valiant; and, even now, the highlander of Scotland possesses a great power of strength in proportion to the volume of his carcase. This is clear; and it may be further considered as illustrative of the fact, that the Irish peasant, not inferior in size and physical force to any peasant in Europe, is not exceeded in energy by any when his powers are properly animated, and skilfully applied to the point of action; yet his food consists chiefly of potatoes and butter-milk. In a word, the history of all nations of the past and present times proves incontestibly, that a spare and abstemious diet is not inconsistent with the possession of physical force; while every one, who has observed and considered the subject carefully, will immediately confess, that the endurance of toils, similar to military toils, is better supported under a spare and measured diet, than under a habit of full and pampered living. If this fact be true, and the history of military service proves it on every occasion, it follows by a necessary consequence, that the diet of troops ought to be measured according to an exact quantity; such as, from trial, is found to be most suitable for the purposes of effect, which are power and endurance of action in conflict, preservation of health, in all its vigour, in various climates and conditions of service. It is supposed by some, perhaps by no inconsiderable number, that full living increases strength and power; it is supposed by very few that full living is favourable to the preservation of health: hence, viewing the case in all its relations, it may be fairly admitted on this head, that, if there be no cause to diminish, there is none to increase the quantity of the ration allowed, by existing regulations, for British soldiers.

The quantity of the ration is fixed by regulation; and, on this head, no alteration is suggested. It probably may be useful to draw the attention of the chiefs of regiments to

the arrangement of a plan of economy, detailing the best practicable instructions for preparing the mess; so that the materials being properly dressed, a suitable nourishment may be provided, according to a regular rule, for the refection of the body. The military cooking utensils, which are to be transported by the soldier himself during the march, cannot be supposed to admit of much variety. A camp-kettle for the mess (consisting of six persons),—to be carried in rotation, a tin porringer, a spoon, a knife, and a canteen for each individual, for private use, are all which can be carried conveniently: they are all which ought to be allowed, for they are sufficient for all purposes.---It is a matter deserving some consideration, that the soldiers' mess be prepared after a manner which occasions little demand for drink; and which is, at the same time, digestible and light in the stomach. Soups, broths, stews, &c. are therefore the preferable forms, the vegetable material bearing a high proportion in the mixture; for it appears to be a fact well ascertained, that persons, fed upon vegetable and farinaceous matters, endure toil longer, or, in medical language are less excitable, than those who consume animal food in great quantity. They have not more power, but they have more endurance; and endurance, according to the present mode of war, is the preferable military quality.—The subject of military cooking, though extremely important in itself, does not appear to be generally studied or sufficiently understood. The fundamental rule, in the culinary art, consists in roasting quick, and boiling slow. It does not appear to be known in the army: the soldier's pot always boils with fury; and his soups and stews are not such, as a good method of cooking might produce from the same materials. Fuel is wasted, and the mess is not well prepared---neither so nutritious, nor so savoury as it might be.

Cookery.

Next to the mode of preparing the meal, the hour of eating demands a remark. It is useful, that the soldier be accustomed to eat at those hours, which best suit with the nature of military services, particularly in times of actual war. Two meals, a day, are sufficient for sustenance; but two meals, a day, only, are admissable on service. Nothing is better than tea for breakfast;---in defect of tea, coffee, cocoa or bouillon are the best substitutes. It is fit, that a soldier breakfast before the hour of parade, or before the commencement of a march; for otherwise, he may become faint and languid from the cravings of the stomach. The most suitable time for the dinner, or great meal, is decidedly the evening,---after the march, in times of war; or after the performance of the professional exercises,---the military amusements and military instructions, the various successions of which are supposed to occupy the greater portions of the day, in times of peace. Hours of eating.

It is presumed that care has been taken in the primary stage of the military education, which is supposed to be regulated by a systematic principle, to accustom the young soldier to dress his ration of provisions in the best manner which the circumstances of his situation admit. If master of the principle of cookery, he will know to vary the mode, according to his occasions or his means, so as not to suffer hunger with a sufficiency of the raw material; a case, which often happens with inexperienced troops.---Soldiers are usually divided into messes, for the sake of convenience and order; and, the cooking, or dressing of the provisions, is regulated, so as to follow a rostre of fatigue among the members of the mess.—The task of cooking, in rotation, for messes, not exceeding six or seven persons in number, has an useful influence upon morals: it serves to cement the society, forming the army domestically into families,---an useful effect, experienced most sensibly in times of Mode of messing.

actual war. If the messes, for instance, be so arranged as to consist of six persons and a corporal; and if a serjeant superintend the two messes, joining, in weekly rotation, as president of the mess, the prospect of the advantages, which might accrue to the service from such arrangement, is evident and great. The good conduct of the whole might reasonably be supposed to be better ensured by the presence of a respectable serjeant; and, as it must necessarily be understood, that serjeants are capable of explaining and instructing their inferiors in the duties of their station, the conversation might be so managed at table, as to improve and confirm the military character, and to guard the morals of the young soldier from the dangers which lie in wait. This idea will probably be scouted; for it seems to be the fashionable practice, to separate the directing and the operating parts of the military instrument to a wide distance from each other. The serjeant, it is pretended, will not be able to maintain his authority, if he joins in the mess; for a certain degree of familiarity is implied in the act of persons eating together; and, habits of familiarity are supposed to diminish the homage of respect. Such may be the effect of the practice alluded to; but it does not belong to the nature of the thing: for it is presumed, with good reason, that a serjeant may retain military authority and respect at the table of young soldiers, with a similar sentiment or impression, as a father retains respect at the table of his children;---the relation between officers and soldiers is similar, if the military fabric be organized upon the genuine principle, the operation of which produces military excellence.

Drink.

Water is the direct remedy, which the Author of nature has provided for quenching the thirst of man and beast. Where good of its kind it is a wholesome beverage; it is the most common, the most convenient, consequently the best drink for soldiers.

diers. Beer can not be procured for armies, at all times and in all places; and, as this is the case, it is fit that a soldier be accustomed with the drink, which he has the best chance of always commanding. If water be muddy, the addition of a small quantity of alum makes it clear; if flat and mawkish, the addition of vinegar rectifies the imperfection, rendering it pleasant to the taste and wholesome to the habit. This was a practice with the Romans. The moderns, wishing to improve, have substituted rum or brandy in the place of vinegar; and, among these the British nation, meaning well, but wanting in knowledge, has voted a daily ration of rum for the use of troops on foreign service. The original cause was ostensibly a pretext of bad water: the effect continues where the water is as good as any water in the world. A practice, so originating, continued without discrimination of necessity or usefulness, has been productive of evil morally, and physically it has served to cut short the life of multitudes. The ration of rum, granted as a bounty and for an ostensible purpose, is now regarded as a right and claimed without a cause of usefulness. The young soldier receives his allowance, and consumes it in many cases, not because he likes rum, or that he thinks it useful for his health; but because he considers it to be his own. Soldiers are tenacious of their own; and this spirit of tenaciousness has the effect to convert a soldier to a lover of rum, frequently to a drunkard, and, as years advance, into a sot; for the habit grows with years.—The love of liquor undermines the foundations of the military qualities, and even tarnishes the lustre of the moral virtues. It impairs bodily health and mental energy. When a soldier is under the influence of liquor, he is insubordinate to command; intoxicated, beyond a certain measure, he is incapable of meeting an enemy in the field. He may present himself to be killed; for as he has no use of his reasoning falculties,

faculties, he has no fears; but he is useless as a soldier, for he has no appreciable powers of offence or defence. Hence the evils of the bounty in question are obvious. The bad effects are experienced: but it requires courage to propose a remedy, and an example of superior virtue and energy to carry a measure of reform into execution. It is at all times difficult to eradicate bad habits: it is a delicate task to impose a law of retrenchment, where depraved appetite is concerned; but it is necessary in the present case, if it be desirable to preserve the health of the soldier and the virtue of the man, which is even of more importance than the health.

Officers table. But, if economy, frugality and temperance be necessary for the prosperity of the army, it is evident that no progress will be made in the course, unless the movement commence with the officers or chiefs, who are the principal or moving parts of the military instrument; and, who may easily lead to every thing that is good by their example, while they are unable to enforce a rule of correct conduct by their authority. If a general of high military reputation, instead of courting popularity by the bait of a sumptuous table and exquisite wines, spread his board with a simple repast, nearly similar to the soldier's mess---measured in proportion to the number of the guests, (for such measure is proper, as furnishing an example of system and economy) his name will be regarded among posterity, as the support or renovator of the military character of the nation. A suggestion of this nature will be considered as a retrograde movement to barbarous life; for the idea of civilization is connected, in the mind of the present age, with forms of elegant living, and arts which pamper and gratify animal sense. Hence, soup and *bouillé*, and vinegar and water, as the repast and beverage of a great general's table, will be esteemed as a direct example of savage manners. The appearance may seem uncouth; but the practice of such

such frugality is the first step of the ladder, by which individuals or nations can expect to rise to military eminence; as it is the habit, through which only they can maintain distinction. It is plainly written in the history of nations, in all the ages of the world, that dignity of mind and military virtues, instead of being connected with sumptuous and luxurious living, have a direct aversion from such enfeebling habits; for the conquerors have always been the emerging, bold barbarian, frugal and hardy; the conquered, the people of luxury and arts. The lofty character of mind is not allied with the appearances of luxury and high living. The Spartan nation was frugal, temperate, and homely in the equipment of the table; but it was august and warlike in its character. The Spartan mess-room was a military school, where lessons of warlike virtue received a demonstrative force. Nothing forbids, that the mess-room of modern armies be converted to a similar purpose. The example was, in some degree, given by General Wolfe; one of the greatest generals, and, perhaps, the most perfect soldier of the age in which he lived.—The table has always had its votaries among military men, as well as others; and, even under Wolfe's energetic command, a good cook and a good butler were among the things which made a general popular. Few spoke in praise of General Wolfe's dinners, or his wines; but no one ever rose from the table at which he sat, without having had the opportunity of carrying away a military lesson; few, without feeling an accession of military importance,—from the influence of his spirit. The example was solitary, and unfortunately it did not last long. It may have been partially revived; but it has never been systematically adopted. It is little attractive where the tide of luxury runs strong; yet, if it had the sanction of high authorities, it might become fashionable; for man is disposed to imitate those who are placed in high stations,—even to follow an eminent

eminent example of frugality and self-denial, rather than to trace the steps of the obscure in the vortex of sensual enjoyment.

Effect of high living.

The pleasures of the table, to which military men, in want of active military pursuit, frequently devote a great portion of their time, are ideal rather than real. If the days be spent in military exercises, in times of peace; or in actual military service in the field, in times of war, the simplest fare,---brown bread, soup and boiled beef, eaten from a wooden bowl or platter, are more savoury than turtle and venison, presented on a silver service, amid the dissipations and riots of luxurious or elegant life. A soldier prepares a mess for the purpose of supporting existence, and acquiring power to encounter military fatigues: his pleasure ought not to lie in the exquisite sense of his palate; and it is well that he leave to others the task of finding out the birth place of a partridge, by the flavour of its flesh. Such nicety is not necessary for his enjoyment; for he toils or labours; after labour there is hunger,—and hunger makes every wholesome food savoury. If this were rightly understood, actual war, in its ordinary course, would rarely present a hardship, on the score of eating. Where a soldier meets with wood and water, beef and bread, he has no cause to complain: he cannot bargain for two courses, a desert and variety of foreign wines, in the actual service of the field; and, as these luxuries cannot be commanded in actual war, they ought not to be permitted in peace: use forms habit; and privation, though privation of things not essential, rarely fails to create chagrin; even if privation did not create chagrin, superfluity and variety provoke the appetites of sense, turn the mind aside from the road of simplicity to the pursuit of sensual gratification; and thereby undermine the foundations of the military virtues. It is a physical fact, and it is of much importance that it be well weighed by military men, that a course of

of high living increases the irritability of the animal fabric; and, in so doing, places the health on a ticklish balance. It produces a similar operation on the movements of the mind; for mind and body are nearly connected. Thus, while bodily exertions are desultory, the powers of action soon exhausted, or easily turned aside from the regular channel of movement in the pampered subject, the character of mind is also capricious and unsteady, for the action of a common cause produces a corresponding effect. Mind is here subject to the impulse of sensual gratification in one form or other; consequently it is selfish: wrapped up in its own gratifications, it is unmoved by an object of general concern,—a sentiment of national honor and glory. The courage, displayed in such a constitution of body and mind, is partial and irregular;—it is from an impulse of vanity, a desire of spoil, of rapine, or an incitement of lust. It is physically true, that the votary of pleasure possesses but a weak constitutional valour. The sensibility of his corporeal fabric is the predominant feature of his frame; its gratification, his leading pursuit: hence he is selfishly careful of his life; or he exposes it from the impulse of a capricious cause. The manifestation of courage is consequently desultory; while the powers of the constitution, unduly irritable and exclusively sensual, are incapable of enduring fatigue, and abhorrent from the privations and denials common in war. As it is thus evident, that the condition of body and mind resulting from high living, and the condition of body and mind necessary for the execution of military service are at direct variance with each other, the custom of high living, by a necessary consequence, ought, in sound reason, to be banished from the military service of such nations as aim at eminence in war, or as are solicitous of maintaining their independence. It is known to those, who have studied the laws of action in animal bodies, that luxurious and high fed persons are

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constitutionally less patient of military fatigues than others. They are reluctant to undertake them; for their life has been a round of gratification,---a desire of gratification is engrafted in their nature. This is true generally; and the history of military campaigns proves in most instances, that those corps, who are accustomed, in times of peace, to a full and sumptuous table, are the least effective soldiers of any under the hardships of war. They are dissatisfied and chagrined with homely fare; they despond and sink under ideal privations;---and, they fail in circumstances of service, where the rustic mountaineer, whose appetite is not debauched by indulgence, feels no want and complains of no hardship. If this be true (and it has been proved in many countries in many instances, and it will be verified in many others, for it depends upon a physical law) it might reasonably be supposed, that, instead of studying to undermine the firmness and force of the military character by indulging, or encouraging habits of luxurious and pampered living, which, generating irritability, induces weakness, the object of a rational institution will be directed to arrange a sober and frugal table, a form of diet measured in quantity, and of a quality calculated to produce a firmness of physical power and steadiness of moral action. If this stands on good reasons, the practice followed, or rather the condition occasionally stipulated, that subalterns be obliged to spend a certain sum in addition to their pay, that they may live like gentlemen, that is, that they may dine at a table of two courses which has a chance to load the stomach, and drink a quantity of wine which confuses the head, the military character is placed on the brink of destruction. If a habit of high living be the life of a gentleman, it is the death of a soldier; and, if the subject be viewed dispassionately, and estimated in connexion with all its causes, a correct knowledge of the case, will, it is to be hoped, produce a rule,

a rule, fixing most positively, that every expence, attaching to military duty, be so calculated and arranged, as to fall within the pay of the lowest officer who bears a commission. The due observance of such a rule would lead to the forming of real soldiers; for cut off from the indulgences of the table, the mind would strike out a new channel of pursuit; if rightly directed, it would be a military one, conducting the nation to eminence, and rendering it secure from danger.

SECTION II.

Dress, or Clothing.

Utility of uniform clothing.

NEXT to the diet or feeding of troops, the dress or clothing is an object which deserves consideration; and it is an object, which has, at all times, occupied a large share of the attentions of military people. The brilliancy of military dress, captivating the eye by its gaudiness and contrasts, entices the multitude to assume a military life: the dress is consequently ornamented and gilded that it may act as a decoy. An appearance of uniformity, in the external covering or clothing of the component parts of the fabric, conveys the idea with its first impressions that the capacity of action of the mass is uniform, or capable of one extent of exertion. Hence uniformity of dress is productive of utility; for it makes uniform impression by the uniformity of its appearance. This operates on the enemy, and probably sometimes produces effect by deception: but it is further obvious, that the mere act of clothing soldiers in one uniform manner is useful, as facilitating the knowledge of parts; or as serving to distinguish different corps or classes of troops from each other. This is external. It is further pre-

sumed, and it actually does appear, that uniform clothing operates, in some degree, a deeper internal effect; for it creates, to a certain extent, a common union of mind or sentiment among the individual parts, as an effect of an impression uniformly arising from one external object. Hence purpose or usefulness is evidently demonstrable; not only as giving a sign of knowledge or distinction of the class of troops, but, as laying the foundations of a common character among soldiers.

Character of dress.

The different warlike powers in Europe clothe their troops differently; not only in colour of cloth, but in form and fashion of clothing, according to the caprices of taste which predominate with the respective nations. As the purpose of clothing is the shelter of the body from inclemencies of weather, whether heat or cold, it is evident, that usefulness and convenience are the principal objects to be regarded in the arrangement: the best fashion is that, which best protects the body, and which least impedes the movements connected with military duties. Every individual may be a judge of this, and every nation ought to follow its own rule; for the copyist in clothing and accoutrement, like the copyist in the fashion of military instruction or tactic, loses the importance connected with that impression of originality, which gives a sentiment of pride and independence to the mind. As pride of sentiment, or independence of mind is the highest possession of a military nation, it must appear evident to those who consider the reasons of things, that an independent nation, in adopting whatever may be useful in the tactic, accoutrement or clothing of foreign troops, should, in a manner, conceal from itself the source from which it draws the hints of improvement; for though a hint may be borrowed without wounding pride; a practice cannot be adopted without marking inferiority. It may be admitted without weakening the argument in the present case, that Prus-

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sian tactic, Austrian clothing and accoutrement are the best forms of tactic, clothing and accoutrement, which have yet been invented for the use and convenience of soldiers; yet, if independent people, instead of incorporating with their own arrangements that which is applicable and useful, professedly and servilely adopt the whole of the foreign system, such people cannot be supposed to stand, even in their own estimation, in the first scale of military excellence; for not being proud, as being national in all the parts of their character, they necessarily become servile, as being foreign in the adjustment of external dress, or in the arrangement of the military tactic.

Form of clothing.

Besides, what relates to the effect of clothing and accoutrement, strictly national, or professedly adopted and foreign; some peculiarity, in the form of clothing, seems likewise to arise, or attach itself to form of military tactic, or nature of military service. The two leading military views are directed to impress an opinion of superior activity, or of superior power closely consolidated. The first is more peculiar to open order and desultory fighting; the latter to close mechanic tactic and regular systematic war. An idea of activity naturally connects itself with the appearance of a smart figure. Clothing may, consequently, be supposed to assume a form of smartness, where the object in view, in forming and training the soldier, more directly aims at increasing and improving the activity of movement, than at concentrating the solidity of force. If clothing be light, there is less weight to be carried; action may be presumed, in such case, to be longer endured with proportionally less fatigue. This is true; but it also often happens, that, in order to be light and to appear smart, the different parts of the dress are formed of such scanty dimensions, that the limbs may be said to be confined by a bandage, rather than covered by a garment. Such practice, whether proceeding from an idea of burthen-

burthening the body lightly, or from an economy of cloth, is an error,—destructive, or repressive of the activity which it seems ostensibly intended to improve; for, the movement of the joints being constrained in the freedom of their action by the tightness of the clothing, fatigue, and all its consequences sooner ensue. This is an obvious evil: if it be avoided, the smart air of the figure, connected with fashion of clothing, is not without its use. It gives energy to action: an impression in such case operates an effect, as a soldier, who looks smart, feels that, in support of his assumed character, he cannot be otherwise than active. Such is the apparent advantage arising from the fashion of clothing of the form described. The clumsier form seems to be more nearly connected with the close order of the mechanic tactic. The soldier, not being impressed with the idea of activity from the smartness of figure connected with his dress, does not feel himself to be obliged to move so quickly; but, impressed with an idea of weight and solidity, he tends insensibly towards a consolidation of his powers, by slow and regular steps, conceiving himself to be strong rather than nimble.

Rule of arranging dress.

As convenience and usefulness are the first points to be considered in military dress; and, as every person, who is experienced in military service, may be supposed to be a judge of what is most suitable for his occasions, in the different conditions in which he may be brought to act, it consequently becomes the first rule, in arranging the military equipment, to connect what is most useful and convenient with what is least expensive. Expence, in this case, is a material consideration; for, in all military arrangements, the economy of means is a principal hinge in the success of events. The Austrian government appears to have hit this point the most correctly of any of the military powers in Europe; for while, that which is

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essentially necessary, even useful for the comfort of the foot soldier, is provided in sufficient quantity, no superfluity or excess makes its appearance in any thing. The whole arrangement is systematic, and correct to a most scrupulous exactness. This relates only to the infantry; for human ingenuity could scarcely contrive any thing more absurd, than the equipment of hussar regiments. The gaudiness of the figure is, in most cases, at direct variance with the usefulness of the man; the powers of exertion are incumbered, or marred; the value of the soldier, in actual service, diminished, for the sake of pleasing or amusing the eye with the phantastic appearances of a toy-shop. Even so numerous are the trappings, and so complicated the various parts of dress, that, unless an officer sleeps in his clothes, his quarters may be surprized, and he may himself be put to the sword, before he can button his jacket, or be in a condition to assume his arms. This attaches to the superfluous trappings of hussars; the infantry are correct. But, though hints for improvement may be taken from the Austrian, or from any other power which has studied rules of military equipment by principle; yet every nation, which maintains an independent character, may be expected to arrange the equipment of its military according to its own national taste. The subject is a subject of common sense; and, it is a subject, upon which the soldier will form a better judgment than the officer; for he judges by the experience of what he feels in trial: a reference to such opinions, therefore, will not be an useless reference.

Parts of dress.

The dress of a soldier, like the dress of other men, consists of different parts, the properties of each of which it may not be improper to notice in a cursory manner.

Coat.

The coat is supposed to be made easy in all its parts; capable of being buttoned over the trunk of the body; in length,

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not reaching lower than the middle of the thigh; furnished with pockets, and every thing, which can contribute to make it convenient;---in form and properties similar to the shooting or riding jackets of the present day.

Pantaloon and gaiter.

The coverings of the legs and thighs usually claim a good deal of attention in the arrangement of military dress. Breeches and leggins have been long a dress of soldiers; and, though breeches and leggins, when properly made, are a good and comfortable form of clothing in most conditions of service, they are, upon the whole, less suitable for all occasions than the pantaloon and gaiter. The pantaloon is supposed to be made easy in form, particularly at the knee,---even large, so as not to impede, in the smallest degree, the motion of the joints in exercise, or to prove irksome, by pressure, when the soldier sleeps in his clothes;---the one, an occurrence which happens frequently on service; the other, a circumstance, which is difficultly guarded against where buttoning is employed; for buttoning is radically connected with an idea of embracing tightly, or pressing closely upon the buttoned part. But, while the pantaloon has less chance of being irksome by its form than breeches, it also requires less time for adjustment in the act of dressing; no inconsiderable advantage in a soldier's equipment, as it is obvious that a soldier ought to be enabled to sleep in his clothes without irksomeness; or, if he sleeps undressed, that he be able to dress himself in the dark, quickly, and without embarrassment.—The short gaiter, well fitted, has advantages over the leggin; it keeps sand and dust from penetrating to the feet equally well with the other; it keeps the shoe fast, embracing the ancle, in such manner, as to foster warmth, and give useful support to the parts which require such assistance. The fleshy parts, such as the calf of the leg, which is thrown into frequent action in the motions of the body, rarely suffer

suffer from cold; the tendinous parts, such as the feet, ancles and knees are easily affected; they consequently require to be doubly guarded. On this ground, flannel or woollen socks, cloth gaiters, and a doubling of the pantaloon with a knee cap, will be found useful in guarding the parts which are least capable of resisting the impressions of cold, or which most require additional protection against injuries. But, while the tendinous parts,—the feet, knees and ancles are kept warm by an addition of suitable clothing or defence, the fleshy parts, particularly the calves of the legs, which, full of blood and moved in exercise, do not often suffer from the impressions of such cause, ought not to be constrained by pressure, which impedes movement, nor heated by an unnecessary covering of woollen leggins, which accelerates the exhaustion of their force. The increased heat, arising from such covering, is particularly hurtful where the legs are disposed to ulcerate; and to this cause may, in some degree, be imputed the prevalence of sore legs, which so much annoys a certain description of soldiers.

Sock.

The feet, which are an essential part of a soldier's body, require to be particularly attended to. They require to be kept warm and dry; for cold and wet feet are frequently causes of sickness, with those who have been bred in towns and carefully nursed in youth. The feet likewise, at the same time that they are kept warm and dry, must be preserved from blistering in the act of travelling, and carefully guarded from other chances of accident; for a lame soldier is ineffective in the field. In aid of this purpose, the flannel sock, or rather the long cotton sock, or half stocking with a sole of milled flannel, is an useful provision. It is within the compass of every man's understanding and most men's experience, that the material of flannel or woollen preserves a more equal temperature of heat than linen, even than cotton; and it is also certain, that the feet are less

liable to blister in travelling when guarded by flannel, than by the other usual coverings: hence, the form of sock suggested will be found, in all cases, to be the most pleasant and most useful form of covering for the feet.

Shoes. But, as a proper condition of the feet is so essential for the proper performance of military duties, the shoes, boots, or half-boots, (which last correspond well with the pantaloon form of clothing), must be well chosen and well made,—of good materials for the sake of economy, and well fitted for the sake of ease and comfort to the feet in travelling. The properties of a soldier's shoe, (which ought to be furnished with an inner sole possessing an obscure sliding motion,) principally consist in thick and firm outer soles which do not yield to the impression of hard roads,---a form corresponding with the natural shape of the foot, so as not to press the toes upon each other, or to press upon the toes, thereby promoting the growth of corns which occasion lameness; a high quarter, so as not to be drawn off by stiff and clayey roads; the materials being, at the same time, good and durable, the leather well tanned, and prepared, by tallow or other means, to resist the impressions of wet.---It will not be deemed impertinent to remark in this place, that British soldiers are often wet in the feet, even bare-footed upon service; a circumstance arising, partly from the flimsey materials of which contract shoes are ordinarily made, and partly from the helplessness of the soldier himself, who is rarely instructed in what relates to the proper care and repair of his personal necessaries. There is here an obvious evil. It calls for a remedy,---both in the economical instruction, and in the care, with which contracts for army necessaries are formed.

Hat. The useful property of a soldier's hat consists in being light, and of a form to remain on the head without being tied; in being

being provided with a shade, in front, to protect the eyes from the sun; in being formed with a lofty crown, for the sake of keeping the rays of a vertical sun at a distance, and of blunting the stroke of a sabre, levelled at the head. The present form of cap possesses these properties, and is evidently more convenient and useful than the hat formerly used;—it is possible, perhaps, that it may be still further improved.

The uniform of the British army has undergone some alterations of late years, and improvement has evidently been made in the form and fashion of several parts of it; but there is still a part of clothing, though not of uniform, which calls for notice at some length, as opinions are divided about the quality of the most proper material of which it ought to be made. In former times, flannel was worn next the skin; refinement substituted linen; luxury, and feeble health, the consequence of luxury, now restore flannel clothing to its former place. There are many persons at present, even writers, who believe, that the wearing of flannel, next the skin, is a security against a multitude of diseases, both in hot and cold climates; there are some, on the contrary, who maintain that flannel clothing, by receiving more readily, and harbouring more firmly than linen or cotton the contagion of acute diseases, has served to propagate malady in armies, and to concentrate noxious causes in such force as to engender the virulence of a pestilence. This is a bold, and by some will be esteemed a heretical opinion; but it is strongly supported by what happened in the British army, in the early part of the late war, the soldiers were here very generally furnished with flannel clothing; the mortality, from the ravages of contagious fevers, was unexampled. The evil, stated, appears, on a candid consideration of the case, to have been connected with the flannel clothing; but it cannot be proved, and, it is not pretended, that the flannel clothing was

Flannel.

the positive cause of it. The flannel clothing collected more easily, and retained more firmly the noxious emanations of diseased bodies, than linen or cotton would have done in quality of their natures; while it did not, by its change of colour, or appearance of dirtiness, so readily discover, to the eye of the officer, the impregnations with hurtful matters. This is positive, but there was no other direct evil which attached to it. Flannel is not in itself a noxious article of clothing; but it requires a nice care and exact economy to preserve it pure. It, however, has advantages; and, as these are generally felt, they are easily appreciated. Flannel preserves, more effectually than linen clothing, an equable warmth in the parts which it covers. It absorbs moisture more readily; and, in this respect, it is a pleasant material to be worn next the skin; for the excess of perspiration, in hot climates, is quickly taken up by it; the wettings with rain, in colder countries, are injurious or disagreeable, only in an inferior degree where the body is covered with this material. But, while it has this advantage very decidedly and clearly, it has other properties which probably overbalance its great benefits. As it preserves an equal heat on the surface of the body, so it also preserves the skin soft, and preternaturally sensible; consequently exquisitely susceptible of impression, and easily acted upon by causes which affect the balances of health. Its benefits are felt in their first impressions as titillations of sense; but they are deceptious; for the warmth, or other qualities of the flannel keep the skin highly charged, fostering a condition of excitability, which readily flies off in a diseased movement, when the circumstances of the subject, or the mode of application is changed. Hence if flannel, worn next the skin, preserves, or appears to preserve, in many cases, the health of the valetudinary, preventing the actual explosion of disease by blunting the action of causes, it has,

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on the contrary, a direct tendency to form a valetudinary habit in those who are naturally robust: by increasing the sensibility, it renders the balance of the moving parts ticklish; consequently the action of deranging causes is less resisted. If this be true, and it may be considered as demonstrative, the use of flannel, so strongly recommended by medical writers as useful in civil life, is not only unnecessary, but injurious in armies. It may guard the valetudinary, whose balance of health is ticklish, and whose exposure to the action of strong causes rarely occurs; but its defence against the strong causes, to which soldiers are often exposed in the service of the field, is insufficient; or soldiers, improvident and careless of themselves, not unfrequently dismantle their defences, exposing themselves inadvertently, when preternaturally irritable in consequence of the previous fostering care of adventitious covering; so that they are now acted upon by things, which would have no effect in other circumstances, and, which ought not to have effect upon men, qualified to be numbered among the class of soldiers; for soldiers ought to be removed, as far as possible from the valetudinary habit, even from the opinion of possessing a valetudinary frame.

Inuring the body to hardships.

The health of man is a nice and an important subject. There are two ways, in which the uniform movement in which it consists may be supposed to be preserved, viz. one by guarding against the application of deranging causes with adventitious or external defences; the other, by fortifying the internal power, in such manner as to render it capable of resisting the action of deranging causes, with its own force. The first is only under the command of the higher classes of society, in civil life; the latter belongs to the soldier,—considered as the principal defence of the soldier in all countries,—the support of health among all nations who aim at eminence in war. The first, or system

system of care, which renders the body artificially susceptible of the impressions of disease, calls forth the ingenuity of medical men, in the contrivance of means to preserve the balance of health from being overturned; the other, or system of exposure, which exercises and inures the body to bear impressions, or vicissitudes of the action of causes which affect the health at first, but, which lose their power by repetition, attains the object on surer grounds. It is a physical, as it is a moral truth that novelty of impression is a spring of action; that is, things, which are new, or unaccustomed to each other, run rapidly into contact and produce new action, or new combinations of action. In this manner, an animal body, guarded carefully from the embraces of external air, from vicissitudes of heat and cold, from wind and rain, and the whole train of external causes which make impression upon the moving fibre, is easily disturbed by their slightest accidental applications; while, a body, exposed daily to the action of the same causes in superior force, suffers no derangement, or no material one: it pursues its usual course amid incitements, which subvert the healthy movement of the irritable habit, highly charged, or ready to explode into a train of foreign action with the application of a new or unusual cause. This is witnessed daily in every scene of life; and, it strongly proves the propriety of inuring the soldier to bear hardships; that is, to acquire such a temper of frame, as is little sensible to the action of the causes which are common in military service. It belongs to physicians, in civil life, to guard the irritable, and morbidly susceptible citizen from the action of deranging causes, by the adventitious aids of warm clothing, flannel and other means; it belongs to a wise military institution to form the soldier, by a train of discipline, to resist the action of foreign causes by his own internal force; an effect, attained by familiarizing him with the various impressions which

which arise in service; for foreign impressions, when often repeated, become familiar, and lose the power of producing a deranging effect. The means of attaining this are not impracticable, not even difficult; but they are unpopular, as they enjoin temporary privation, or temporary pains and exposures to disagreeable things, in the hopes of obviating remote injurious consequences. The mass of mankind does not understand such doctrine. It requires an enlightened mind to perceive the value of a remote object; and, as the value of it is not obvious to every one, some constraint will be necessary to induce the croud to submit to a discipline, ultimately salutary, but immediately harsh and revolting. The effecting of such a measure would require management in any circumstances: it may be reasonably supposed, that it will be accomplished with difficulty among rich and luxurious nations, where the faculties are engrossed with the gratifications of sense. The doctrine therefore, which inculcates the exposing of a soldier's body to wind and rain, heat and cold, for the sake of obviating the action of novelty; that is, of familiarizing the habit with the effect of foreign impressions, is not likely to be well received; for it implies an immediate suffering in the prospect of a remote or contingent good. Such discipline is notwithstanding necessary, if it be admitted that forming an army, capable of gaining and maintaining success in war, is an object worthy of attention. It may seem a paradox; but it is true, that excessive care does more harm by fostering a condition susceptible of disease, liable to explode with the application of slight causes, than the habitual and familiarised exposure to the action of the strongest causes, which occur in the ordinary course of military service. It is a common observation, that irregular troops, who have the least protection from the inclemencies of weather, are usually the most healthy part of armies; and further,

ther, if reference be made to a comparative statement of health among British troops, previous to their being furnished with flannel shirts, socks, great coats and even blankets, it is presumed, that the balance will not be found to stand on the side of the extraordinary care of later times. But prejudices are so strong on this head that arguments will not gain a hearing,—even experience will not command attention. The suggestion of training a soldier in hardship, in order to make him fit for his military duty in all its conditions, is so contrary to the sensations of a luxurious people, that it is likely to be deemed the suggestion of a barbarian of the dark ages, rather than the induction of accurate observations drawn from a wide field of experience. If there do not, therefore, exist any hopes of carrying into effect the practice of the true form of discipline, which ensures a hardy frame by artificial exposure to all manner of hardships, which are common in military life, it only remains to point out the mode of care, which embraces the greatest number of advantages, incumbered with the smallest number of inconveniences or evils.

Cloak.

As it is evident that the chief object, in arranging a soldier's equipment, ought to be directed to convenience and usefulness; it follows of course, that the clothing ought to embrace, in its form, the common object of covering the body, without constraining the free motion of the limbs; or without incumbering the movement by clumsiness and superfluous weight. When a person is in a state of action, intently pursuing an object of duty or amusement, he is little liable to be impressed by the action of such causes, as are, in other circumstances, injurious to health. When actively employed, he may, or he rather ought to be lightly clothed: when lightly clothed, the continuance of toil is easily endured; for the body carries less weight, and is thereby maintained at a lower temperature of heat.

When

When a state of rest commences the susceptibility of foreign impression returns; it will therefore be useful, under those circumstances, to provide means, to be employed, discretionally, according to occasion, as protection against the action of foreign causes. In order to give the subject the command of these defensive means, the clothing ought to be easy in its fashion, formed to button over the trunk of the body, as capable of guarding the more delicate parts from harm, when the action of exercise abating, the susceptibility of foreign impression recurs. This relates to the fashion of the common coat or uniform. But besides this useful fashion of the coat, a cloak, as extra security against the impressions of cold, when, action ceasing, there commences a state of total rest, may be reckoned a necessary provision for the protection of the soldier's health. The cloak, here recommended, is not yet adopted by the infantry of the British army; reason says that it ought. It has advantages over the blanket and great coat; for it is capable of answering the purposes of both. A soldier is obliged to load himself, on the march, with a blanket, for the sake of the warmth which it affords at night; it affords no protection from rain to himself or his arms when he travels, or when he stands on duty at his post. A great coat is employed for that purpose; but a great coat is not esteemed a sufficient defence against the cold of the night. Two things are thus provided for two purposes, which may be answered by one. A cloak with a hood, in the form of the Portugal cloak—the material a close, strong, duffle, light and warm, manufactured expressly for the purpose, rendered less penetrable to wet, by incorporating grease or oil with the manufacture of the cloth, and of a length, sufficient to cover the ancle when the knees are a little bent, may be expected to furnish sufficient protection from the cold of the night in the common circumstances of service, to defend the

soldier and his arms more perfectly from rain, when on the march or on duty than the great coat; while it is not materially more cumbrous, or inconvenient in the act of carriage. The cloak is therefore the most useful provision, with which a soldier can be furnished as a defence against cold, and rain, and inclemencies of weather; unquestionably more comfortable, more safe, and a more sufficient protection than flannel worn next the skin.

Necessaries. The form and fashion of a soldier's external equipment is supposed to be such, as is stated. It remains to consider the quantity suitable for his occasions, in all conditions of service. This is an object of some importance; for it is proved demonstrably to the conviction of all persons who have actually served in the field, that superfluous baggage, that is, baggage beyond the most correct measure of the wants, instead of bringing comfort, is a cause of great annoyance and vexation. The means of personal cleanliness, which consist in the provision of a complete change of raiment in the event of being wet, to which must be added a cloak, as a covering for the night in time of sleep, as they are all which the soldier requires for his needs, so they are all which he ought to be permitted to provide for his comfort.---It may be remarked of British soldiers, that they are often incumbered with a load of necessaries; and it is often observed, that they are in want of what is useful and suitable in the midst of their superfluity. The effect is not unnatural; for it is an usual consequence, that, where persons have no more than one change of raiment, a kind of necessity obliges them to prepare for the return of want. The impression of the approaching want is strong; and the first occasion of replenishing is embraced. Where there is variety of means, the necessity does not present itself forcibly: hence, the dirty clothes, crammed into the knapsack, are suffered to accumulate,

late, without forcing a recollection that they require to be cleaned. It thus often happens, and it happens by a consequence natural enough, that a soldier, with four or more shirts, probably has not one clean; that a soldier, who only has two in all, has one in his pack always ready for use. This example, which occurs frequently in service, proves the utility of having a cause of necessity constantly placed before the eye of the soldier; for it is only under this impression, that he prepares himself for the contingencies which belong to his situation. But, as the idea of relief, from an impending necessity, brings with it a sensation of pleasure, so, in this interchange of necessity and relief, life goes on actively, pleasantly and cheerfully.--- If a soldier be provided according to the following schedule, it is believed he may experience a reasonable degree of comfort, in all situations in which he can be placed; viz. two shirts, linen, cotton, or flannel, two pairs of socks, as described; two pairs of flannel, or cotton drawers; two pairs of shoes, or one pair of shoes, and one pair of half boots; one pair of short gaiters; a foraging cap, as night cap; shoe brushes of small size, with blacking ball, combs, one razor and strap; brush for the hair; soap; a sponge, for washing the body; a towel for drying it; a pocket handkerchief; a stock; a robe de chambre, or dressing gown of cotton cloth—to serve as a night shirt; a cloak, of duffle or other suitable cloth---with the necessary utensils for cooking. If the spare necessaries be put up in neat and compact order in a case of oilskin, so as to be secure from wet, and disposed in a havresack, for the sake of easy carriage, the soldier will not be incommoded by their bulk, nor encumbered by their weight: and while little loaded, he will be at the same time, independent; for he carries with him dry and clean clothes, and the means of protection from cold and rain.

Effect of dress.

The aim of military discipline is directed to implant one sentiment in the mind, as a principle of action, and to fashion the limbs to follow one order or cadence in movement; so that the machine, uniting the whole of its force systematically, may correspond in action with all its parts; and thereby produce one effect in battle, with the full and united exertion of its strength. Uniformity of dress, while it fixes an external sign for the knowledge of the parts, serves to give an idea or impression of uniformity of power, as connected with the external resemblance. If this has any just foundation in truth, it is evident that military clothing, which ought to be convenient and useful, as serving the purpose of clothing, ought also to be uniform in its appearance, as uniting with its appearance the idea of action common to all the parts,---plain, and simple, and void of ornament; for ornament, breaking the union of view, diminishes the impression of the effect which naturally arises from the semblance of a whole. An army is a whole, supposed to be moved towards its object by one motive, moving in its course with a corresponding or measured force of power, as productive of one effect in action. As its design is one, its appearance ought also to be one throughout; for uniformity, in the appearance of the mass, gives an impression of union of power in the parts, and thus operates an effect by uniformity of appearance which is fictitious, as well as by actual impulse of action which is real. Hence it is supposed to be useful, that troops be clothed correctly in one uniform manner; so that one impression may arise from the *coup d'œil* of the whole. The air of uniformity produces an impression of united force; but such impression is weakened, or destroyed by loading the clothing with rich ornaments and superfluous trappings, which draw the attention from the estimate of the force, to the admiration of the gaudiness of the apparel. It is the union of

power

power and energy of movement which strikes the eye, as constituting the value of the military fabric; and, as man is the acting instrument in the exhibition, man must always be so placed as to be the superior object of attraction. The countenance is the noblest part of man; and the aspect of the countenance marks the character of the military machine. Artificial disguises make impression on the faint-hearted by novelty; but, as it is the aspect of countenance, indicating the purpose of the mind, which impresses the senses of hostile force standing in battle array, the countenance, in sound reason, ought to be placed prominent and forward in the picture, not obscured by powdered locks and whiskers, or shaded by the impertinent obtrusion of cock feathers. Such ornaments are, in reality, worse than superfluous. If the subject be viewed in its real connexion with cause and effect, such obtrusions, as they divide the attention, may be said to diminish the impression of what is supposed, and what actually is the true military impression. The beauty of the military figure consists in a bold countenance, and animated movement; the ornaments in personal cleanliness, and in the adjustment of the arms. Gaudiness and courage are as opposite as vanity and pride; but it is pride of mind and power of arm which constitute the soldier's excellence. Vanity delights in gaudiness of dress, marking a fluctuating and weak character. It is a fictitious motive in a soldier, and produces no action of intrinsic value. It is fanciful and varied; pride of mind on the contrary is simple. A rule of simplicity, but of correct uniformity in fashion, ought therefore to regulate military equipment; for uniformity in garb serves to give an appearance of union to the mass; and simplicity allows the genuine action of the instrument to stand prominent; in other words, the force of the soldier is seen and estimated

estimated in the one case; the taste of the taylor or accouterer in the other.

Hurtful effects of ornaments.

If military dress be considered in its principle, as effecting an impression upon the foe by appearance, it necessarily follows, that such impression will be less forcible, as connected with the effect of varied and ornamented apparel; for variety, as observed before, divides, and ornament obscures the impression, which arises from an idea of union and correspondence among the parts of a power acting in mechanical concert. In proportion therefore, as the attire of an army is gaudy and varied, the impression, connected with union of effect, is weakened; but independently of the effect of impression alluded to, the military dress, which is loaded with ornament, occupies a large portion of time for the purpose of adjustment; while, exclusively of the time wasted in this useless purpose, the means employed, with a view to clean and ornament, viz. pipe-clay for the clothing, grease and flour for the hair, actually pollute the skin, and obscure the manly expression of the countenance. Pipe-clay serves to cover up dirtiness; yet a soldier is said to be clean, if his clothes, facings, &c. be covered with a crust of pipe-clay or ochre; and, the head is allowed to be well dressed, where a crust of grease and flour covers the hair.—The sensation of personal cleanliness is one of the greatest and purest pleasures, which man enjoys. When perfectly clean in person, a man may be said to live at every pore, to be animated in every fibre. A soldier, who is condemned to cover his clothes with a crust of pipe-clay, and his hair with a paste of grease and flour, can never know the comforts of perfect life. The skin being filled, even incrusted with earthy matters, the hair matted with grease and flour, the sensations cannot be luxurious,—not even comfortable. Health, itself, is perhaps impaired; for, as nothing contributes more to health than personal cleanliness,

liness, which ensures the activity of all the parts of the skin; so nothing impairs it sooner than artificial dirtiness, which impedes the action of its finer parts. Hence it may be inferred, that, the military clothing, which requires to be incrusted with pipe-clay or ochre in order to appear clean, is not well contrived; pipe-clay being a material, which does not clean properly speaking, but which only covers up the appearances of dirt. The custom of dressing the hair with grease and flour is, in like manner, a sacrifice to appearance, at the expence of cleanliness and comfort. Even the effect, as relative to appearance, is calculated on an error in knowledge; for every fictitious ornament about the head, which obscures the countenance of the soldier, the cause which makes impression, defeats the purpose, weakening effect, by attempting to render comely and attractive that which ought to be stern and formidable. A stern countenance is the countenance of a soldier; and a stern countenance, under powdered locks and waving plumes, is a combination at variance with itself. The cares of military men seem to have been misapplied on this head; for, as strength of impression, calculated for effect, consists in the uniformity of the bulky mass; and, as uniformity only consists with simplicity, simplicity, according to this principle, constitutes the fundamental rule in the arrangement of military dress. Health and vigour best consist with personal cleanliness; personal cleanliness is, therefore, an object intimately connected with the mode of clothing troops. Pipe-clay, which is positive dirt as it relates to the skin, may be reasonably supposed to prove injurious to the health. Grease and flour, pasted upon the hair, if not positively noxious to the health, engender and serve to harbour vermin. The practice is foreign to cleanliness; and, the effect is not even beautiful to the eye; for man is, in no situation, so attractive, as when he is perfectly clean in his clothes,

clothes, and in his person. The hair, when washed with soap and water, well brushed, cropped, queued or otherwise tied up, so as to be kept in good order, is less inconvenient to the individual, pleases the eye of a soldier more perfectly than a grand *frissure*, covered with grease and flour; and, it less incommodes, than an appendage, or baton of artificial hair enveloped in a case of leather.—If such are esteemed ornaments, they must, at least, be allowed to be incumbrances.

Effect of dress on the mind.

But while the disadvantages and the inconveniences, stated as resulting from a gaudy and variegated dress, are of some importance, on different accounts, the mental impulse, impeded in its action, or diverted in its course by the obtrusion of trappings and ornaments attached to the military uniform, presses itself on the notice with still greater force. Pride, or a sentiment of honor, is the motive which urges a soldier to his duty, and which maintains him stedfast in his place. It is a simple motive, and it has only one form of action, which is marked by progress, in a direct line, to a prominent object. The motive of the action is internal,—peculiar to the man, or common to the character of an army or a people. This pride of mind is conscious of pre-eminence from the possession of an internal quality: it consists in a character of firmness, which maintains its place, or pursues its purpose to the destruction of its existence; but it is modest; it acts in silence---and without boast. Vanity assumes its garb; but it is directly opposite in the intimate qualities of its nature. Vanity courts applause and admiration, hangs all its attractions on the outside, and calculates value by external appearance. It is not a military quality, for it is fluctuating and wavering; but, by a misapprehension of things, it is fostered in armies as the substitute of pride, which is the basis of military excellence. The two are directly at variance. A vain man may be insolent and overbearing; but he

he is not proud; for pride consists in dignity of mind, which is remote from insolence, as it is from vanity. Hence, if military dress, and it seems to be the fashion of the times in most countries, be so contrived as to render man vain of an appearance, instead of rendering him proud of the possession of a reality, it not only mistakes its end, but it defeats the grand military purpose, weakening, by multiplied causes of distraction, the impulse of action in the grand channel. It is thus that ornaments of dress,---feathers, lace and gildings of the outside engross the faculties, and fill the mind of the soldier with the vain conceit, how he looks. Where a soldier's thoughts are strongly or chiefly directed to the imagining of fictitious dress, for the sake of attractive appearance, he, by a natural consequence, neglects the inside or reality: the mind has only one predominant object; the fictitious and the real are incompatible with each other. Hence it may be inferred, that those, who expect to make men brave, by first making them vain of the ornaments of military dress, proceed on a mistaken knowledge of the action of causes on the mind of man. A love of the gaudiness of dress enamours a man of himself; for it makes him vain of his appearance. It enhances the love of life; for it supplies a material of selfish gratification. It consequently diminishes the radical fund of bravery; for, though vanity often urges a man to acts of enterprise, that is, to enter the field of battle with a shew of courage, it is only the possession of honor, or mental pride, which secures him from quitting it without disgrace. Vanity is emptiness; and the conduct of the vain man wavers and fluctuates in danger. Pride of mind is a reality; the silent, proud and modest man is firm, even obstinate in his course, in the midst of difficulty. Such is consistent with principle in reason; and, it is verified, by proof, in experience; it being uniformly found to be true, that it is

the modest man only, who stands firm in the day of severe trial. If this be so in fact, it may be presumed that the improvement, which appears to have been made in the manner of equipping, and the taste, which has been displayed in ornamenting the dress of soldiers, as it operates upon the principle of vanity, must, to a certain degree, produce a retrograde movement in the military course,---a disorganizing effect in the radical joinings of the military fabric.

SECTION III.

Exercise,---Bodily and Mental.

IT is a well known, and an acknowledged fact, that nothing is so destructive to the discipline, to the character and energies of man, as habits of idleness. It is therefore an object of general concern, that all the hours of a soldier's time be occupied; and it is an object of military concern, that these hours be occupied in military exercises, or, in such exercises as add directly or collaterally to the military powers. The exercises, calculated to form soldiers for the practice of their profession, have been noticed already, and their advantages have been pointed out. But though the rudiments are supposed to have been laid in the primary school, it is obvious that perseverance in the practice is necessary, even after a soldier is incorporated with his regiment, in order to improve and confirm the habits which were begun in early life. The exercises alluded to are various,---and they are severally useful in their places. If they are understood in their principles, they will be performed with pleasure; for people take pleasure in doing that which they understand. Dancing gives pleasure on its own account; and

Utility of exercise.

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it is therefore practised with cheerfulness. Fencing is practised with interest; for it impresses an idea of security to life, as furnishing improved means of defence; or, an increased power of offence in attack. The combined movements of marching, of running in cadence, &c. communicate an idea of the manner, in which separate powers are rendered irresistible by being joined and properly matched in action. The pleasure arising from these exercises is therefore felt by the soldier, as an individual gratification; or, its importance is estimated in his reason, by the consciousness of the pre-eminence which it gives to him for the execution of his military duties. But, as these exercises cannot be supposed to occupy the whole of the time, that a soldier is exempted from carrying arms, it will be useful to fill up the intervals by games or pastimes, instituted in the open air, viz. ball-playing, cricket, quoits, &c.; in which, while the man is amused on his own account, his powers as a soldier are improved, his endurance tried, and the extent of his exertions ascertained.

Mental exercise.

It is intended that a considerable share of the soldier's time shall be occupied by the varied round of the exercises alluded to; but, as there must necessarily be intervals in bodily exercise, and as there ought to be no interval or intermission in the progress of military improvement, it must be so contrived, that, when bodily exercises cease, or when circumstances do not admit of their being entered into, on account of weather or other causes, the exercise of mind, no less necessary than the exercise of body, be called in to succeed—in relief of ennui, which is retrograde or negative, and in aid of military progress, which is positive. This is a subject but little regarded; for military education rarely has a higher aim, than that of rendering the soldier submissive to command, and steady in exterior conduct as an animated machine. If the mind obtain

any notice, as calculated to operate on animal movement, the purpose is effected by fostering a desire of dress, for the sake of appearance; or of arranging a train of indulgences, for the gratification of appetite. In this there is error: for if vanity be flattered, dignity of mind is obscured; and if appetites be indulged, the fund of military excellence is undermined. The subject is of important consideration; and, if viewed philosophically, something like a counteraction may be discovered between the operation of the genuine military principle, and many of the practices which obtain in most of the military services in Europe. It is ostensibly the wish of the tactician, and the aim of military institution, to render the frame of the soldier as little as possible sensible of the impression of foreign causes; it professes to combat the desire of pleasure, or to blunt sensibility for the common allurements of life, physically and morally; so that the dangers which threaten its existence be less regarded. This is a view of common sense,---level to every man's understanding. The system of care, ease and indulgence which grows into fashion, runs counter to this view. It is calculated to increase the physical wants of the soldier, to multiply and extend the reign of his appetites. It fosters vanity, and cherishes gratification of corporeal sense through all the extent of the fabric, from the moving power to the mere mechanical instrument. In a fabric so constituted, so prepared, and so overcharged with inflammable materials by the accumulations of care and indulgence, movement is irregular and fluctuating; for sensibility is excessive;—sense rules, and the appetites of sense have an endless caprice.

As it is the object of military institution to reduce into order, and to bring, under command, the movements of the animal body, as stimulated to action by a variety of different causes; so there appears to be no effectual mode of doing this, but by implanting

implanting one idea in the mind,---one paramount sentiment, which, domineering with force, absorbs into itself all the little caprices and wanderings of corporeal sense. The foundations of this institution are supposed to be laid in the primary school of education; the routine of discipline, now practised by the formed soldier, is supposed to be calculated to improve and confirm the effect of what was begun in early life. Man, as formerly observed, is most attracted by what is highest in the point of glory, and most interested by what most nearly concerns himself. The heroic acts of the Black Prince, and of the English soldiers under his command, form the most brilliant, the most generous and the most interesting part of the English history. Such example is therefore best calculated to engender a heroic spirit; and, as an united spirit of heroism in armies is the only principle which can uniformly ensure, at least uniformly deserve success, a manual of these achievements, judiciously thrown together, might be supposed to operate an useful effect in the present times, in animating and rousing the military spirit in the breast of the English soldier. A similar, and not less impressive impulse, might be given to the lowland Scot, by a manual of the strongest features of the history of the generous Wallace. The achievements of Wallace were noble in themselves, and will be felt by every one; but they particularly seize the sympathies of the Scotchman, who honors himself in the independence of his country.---The highlander possesses a strong cast of heroism in his natural character; and he so abounds with the fire of courage, that it is rarely necessary to animate his spirit by artificial aids.

The traits of heroic character, which stand in the records of national history, are powerful instruments, if well managed, in perfecting the military education. They animate the courage to acts of enterprize, and they cement the bond of union; for they

they place national glory on a point of elevation to which all eyes are directed. A certain portion of time will, therefore, be usefully devoted to the purpose of impressing, on the mind, a figure of heroic sentiment drawn from this source, and of so directing the impulse, as to improve and confirm the impression into a fixed habit of action. Such sentiments, thrown into verse may be supposed to constitute the catechism of the young soldier. With the aid of cadence, and the impression arising from a commanding tone of music, the action, which springs from the genuine source of justice, and moves in this channel, as it is one in its design, will be irresistible in its effect; all the weaknesses, incident to man's wavering nature, being absorbed in the beam of prominent glory. The songs of Tyrtæus seem to have operated some such enthusiastic effect upon the soldiers of Sparta; and the hymn of the Marseillois, the tones of which seize the sympathies of the soul, and rivet the whole force of action to one object, may be regarded as a grand instrument in the French revolution; a cause, which gave incalculated success, on many occasions, to the French arms. It may hence be concluded, that an army, which is well composed in its mechanical structure, and which is moved to action by the electrising influence of heroism, cemented by the cadence of music, will be as a rock in the day of battle,—not to be shaken; and as a torrent in the strength of its course—not to be withstood.

Effects of exercise upon health.

The effects of exercise are eminent in perfecting the adjustment of the parts of armies, mechanically; in improving and confirming the moving energies, mentally; and, in contributing to preserve health, medically. It has been long observed, and it was particularly well understood and appreciated by the Romans, that a routine of exercises, performed in the open air, severe, and perseveringly persisted in, so as to impress a form of action upon the animal fabric, contributes, eminently, to the preser-

preservation of health :—such exercise is, in fact, of more value to an army than an host of physicians. The observation is verified in daily experience; but though well ascertained in variety of trials, it is not acted upon systematically in the armies of modern Europe. The military exercises of the present times call forth no exertions, and excite no movements, which try, extend and confirm the stability of the bodily organs; they embrace no sudden transitions from cold to heat, and from heat to cold; from rest to action, and from action to rest,—familiarizing the body with vicissitude. It is presumed that the Roman soldier, who sweated daily, and who sweated profusely under toils, possessed, in a less degree than the modern soldier of luxurious countries, that high-charged irritability of fibre, which flies off in a deranged movement with the application of trivial causes; for, passing suddenly from cold to heat and from heat to cold in the routine of daily exercise, the changes, which occurred in actual war, had no novelty, and produced no injurious effect:---in the modern soldier, not inured in such practice, the trial cannot be made with impunity.

Cleanliness.

But further, in addition to the advantages arising from the practice of active exercises, as stated above, there are other forms of exercise, or discipline, which, as contributing to the preservation of health in an eminent degree, require to be considered with some attention. Among these, personal cleanliness is one of the first. It is commonly understood that personal cleanliness is preservative of health. Of this, as a matter of feeling, every one is competent to form an opinion. The act of making the body clean affords the highest gratification of pleasure to animal sense, of which man's nature is capable; and it is a gratification, the most pure and satisfactory, as it is accompanied with an accession of vigour and force, unalloyed with vexation in its consequences. As the exercise of purifying and cleaning the

the person contributes, in the manner noticed, to increase power and preserve health, the care of bodily ablution necessarily occupies its requisite allotment of time and management in the routine of a soldier's occupations. The custom is salutary; it consequently becomes the concern of a wise military economy to provide the means, and to ensure the correct execution of the practice. In this view, a soldier is supposed to be provided with a sponge and towel, as part of his necessaries; and, when so provided, he may, wherever water is to be found, have the opportunity of washing his body from head to foot; a process, which ought to be effected completely and lavishly by means of the sponge, once a day, preferably at noon,---when the day is at the hottest, or, when the animal heat has been preternaturally increased by previous exercise. It is useful in the management of this operation, that the body be purposely exposed for a short time, naked, in the open air: in such case, it is not necessary to be scrupulously exact in drying it; for, if it possess heat, or if it be put in motion, no evil will result from a slight moisture remaining on the surface of the skin. If circumstances do not permit a daily ablution, few reasons, except absolute want of water, can be strong enough to prevent its being effected at least twice a week. But, besides the ablution of the body alluded to, the hair ought to be washed frequently, at least twice a week, with soap and water,—or water to which is added some salt of tartar,—dried, combed, brushed and completely cleared of all pollution. As a farther aid, in the process of cleansing and cleanliness, a *robe de chambre* of cotton cloth, is supposed to be employed as a night-shirt, where the nature of the service permits the soldier to sleep undressed. The suggestion may be considered as an improvement of considerable importance. It will probably be found to be economical; for the shirt will be saved, and sheets will be unnecessary; but its great

great benefit consists in the necessity it implies of exposing the naked body to the open air, in the act of dressing and undressing; in the refreshment of the skin by the application of a cool shirt after sleep; and, in preventing the accumulation of animal emanations on the apparel, a cause which appears to be highly injurious to health. If the process here described be duly executed, the body will be perfectly clean, the sensations luxurious, the vigour improved to its utmost extent,---and health will be secure; for, as there is nothing new in the impression of moisture where such a form of discipline is pursued, the wettings, which occur in the course of military service, have little chance of producing a derangement in the movements of the machine: and, as noxious causes, which generate in the body, are washed away by water, or swept away by a current of fresh air, contagious fever has no chance of being engendered, or even of existing should it be accidentally introduced. A habit of personal cleanliness brings with it, in this manner, a numerous train of advantages to the soldier; and, as personal cleanliness is a radical institution of military economy, the execution of it must be conducted under the eye of a military officer,—not less punctually than the evolutions of tactic, or the trainings in the use of arms; but it has not, perhaps, as yet met with this attention in any of the European armies.

SECTION IV.

Accommodation of Troops,—in Barracks, Camps, and Transport Ships.

TO contrive a proper manner of lodging or protecting troops from the inclemencies of weather, without engendering other evils, Difficulty of contriving shelter.

evils, would not appear to be an easy task; for the occurrence of mischief is frequent. The subject, on this account, necessarily forms an important consideration in the economical arrangement of armies. The accommodation in question is of a two-fold nature, viz. houses or barracks, as adapted to the service of permanent stations; tents or huts, as employed in the moving duties of the field in actual war. It is obvious, that the right management of this business requires a deep knowledge of the causes which affect human health,—deeper and more correct than what appears to fall to the lot of those to whom the matter is frequently intrusted. Among warlike and civilised nations, the military force is usually protected against the inclemencies of weather by the erection of barracks in one case, or by tents in the other. Such provision seems useful or necessary on the first view of the subject; but while useful on some accounts, it must also be remembered, that the shelter alluded to is apt to be connected with circumstances, which are more pernicious to health than the effects of inclement weather, even in an inclement season. It is very well known, for it has been often proved in trial, that where a multitude of men are collected together and confined in narrow space, the air is preserved, with difficulty, from being contaminated; and, as it is known that contaminated air is destructive of health, it is obvious that the fundamental rule to be regarded, in providing accommodation for troops, relates to the power of contriving protection without incurring risk of such contamination. With knowledge of the nature of physical causes, and an acquaintance with the effects of their operations upon animal structure, the object is attained with facility. Without such advantage, the good intentions are defeated. We stumble from error to error,—suffer, and blame the constitution of things, when our own ignorance of the principles of just arrangement only is in blame.

blame.---This is strongly exemplified in what regards the accommodations which are provided for soldiers in peace or war.

1. *Barracks.*

The position and structure of barracks, intended as permanent quarters for troops, are objects of great concern in a national point of view ; for, if barracks be injudiciously placed or badly constructed, the health will necessarily suffer; and, if health suffer, and life be lost from such a cause, we shall have reason to lament, that our cares, instead of being useful, have been hurtful to the state. Suggestions on this head will not, it is presumed, be thought impertinent; for experience proves strongly that there is room for amendment. The position of barracks, it may be observed, is often commanded by necessities which leave no option of choice; but where such necessities do not exist, it may be useful to know, that, the eligible position for barracks, is a position on a soil, which is dry in itself, or so circumstanced as to be capable of being made dry by draining, sheltered from piercing winds by interposition of rising grounds, shaded, if possible, by trees, as communicating freshness to the air, placed without reach of the atmosphere of swampy grounds, or the foul banks of large and slow moving rivers, and possessing at the same time a command of spring or running water. Such position may be esteemed to be the proper one : it possesses convenience, and it gives a fair promise of not being unhealthy;---two objects demanding the first attention of government, in founding its permanent military establishments. Position.

In regard to the mode of construction, as connected with health, one great rule is to be constantly held in view, viz. to guard, as far as possible, against the contamination of air, Construction.

which necessarily results from accumulating a number of persons into narrow space. This depends on ventilation; but the mode of ensuring a thorough ventilation does not appear to be well understood by the common architects of barracks, not even by the architects of hospitals. The contrivances, usually adopted for ventilation, permit heated air to escape and cold air to enter; but such air, escaping or entering nearly in a perpendicular stream, no effective ventilation is thereby produced in an apartment, crowded with men, baggage and bedsteads. Ventilation is known, and understood by most people, to consist in a movement of the air; but it may be added, that such movement only deserves the name of ventilation, when every corner of the ventilated apartment is sweeped forcibly by the air moving equally, and in a full stream; an effect, only to be attained by the opening of doors, or by the opening of windows which reach to the level of the floor, in the manner of Venetian windows. This is demonstrative. Hence it may be inferred, that if the windows in barrack apartments be constructed in this form, the air will not be readily contaminated, even by the accumulation of many persons; for, the apartment in such case may be so exposed, as to possess a purity of air, nearly as perfectly, as if it were an open balcony. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that this suggestion does not imply that the windows, though in the Venetian form, should be wholly of glass; a material which is expensive, and liable to be easily broken. It is plain, that the lower part,—to the height of a man's shoulder or higher, ought to be of wood, opening as a common door; the upper part of glass, admitting light as a common window.

Heat. The mode of ventilation just now described, will be sufficient to preserve purity of air in barrack apartments, in dry weather; but when the air is close, damp and foggy, at which time it is more easily contaminated, the renewal or purification of this neces-

necessary element can only be ensured, by the operation of the strong heat of fire. Economy of means is the essence of military arrangement; and, in order, that the smallest quantity of fuel operate the greatest effect, it is clear that the fuel, in this case, must be placed in an open fire stove, erected in the center of the apartment. The heat will thus be equally diffused to every part; and the air, being moved equally from every corner of the apartment, by the rarefying influence of fire when acting strongly, the ventilation will be uniform and perfect throughout.

Size of barrack-rooms.

In regard to the size of barrack rooms it may be observed in general, that a room calculated for twelve or fourteen soldiers, with a small apartment separated by a partition for a serjeant, as it is the size most consistent with the preservation of health; so it is the size best calculated to enforce the rules of discipline and to ensure good conduct among the men. When soldiers are thrown together in great numbers, confined in the same common apartment, they naturally huddle into groups: the air is soon contaminated in consequence of such accumulation; and irregular acts, as they are more favoured in their rise, by the circumstances peculiar to a large and numerous mass of people assembled together, so they are more difficultly detected or repressed: the mass becomes licentious when mixed, and, occupying a large extent, the restraints of discipline are weakened. It is hence evident, that small apartments, of the dimensions stated, are preferable for the barrack accommodation of soldiers, as preservative of these three essential points,---health, military discipline, and private morals.

Furniture.

The next point, viz. furniture, or equipment of a barrack apartment, is an object of some importance; for it is materially connected with ventilation, or purity of air, and consequently with health. Where the floors of the apartment are of board,

bedsteads

bedsteads are superfluous. If the soldier be furnished with a paillasse,---filled with straw, he sleeps in safety and in luxury on a boarded floor.—It will necessarily be supposed to be an object of study, with every military officer who considers things maturely, to inure the soldier to habits, in times of peace, which correspond, as nearly as possible, with the circumstances which occur in actual war. The soldier, who has been accustomed to sleep in sheets, on a raised bedstead in a commodious barrack, conceives it to be a hardship to lay himself down on a hard board without straw; or, on the bare turf without a pillow. But this must often happen in the service of the field; and, when it happens, the first trials give dissatisfaction and chagrin,---even probably affect the health, the habit being delicate,---rendered irritable by ill-judged care. Bedsteads, it may be added, are superfluous in the view of comfort; and the example is injurious in the case alledged; but, a double tier of bedsteads, as obtains in some barracks, or a double tier of platforms, as is usual in most, seem, as if they had been contrived purposely to contaminate the air, to favour the rise of contagious fever; and thereby to annihilate or render an army ineffective. The case has a multitude of examples in proof of destructive effect; but there are points upon which experience is not sufficient to make us wise,---and this unfortunately is one of them. Barrack-rooms, equipped according to the custom which now obtains, are purified with difficulty. If no bedsteads existed, or if no platforms were permitted to be erected for the purpose of a soldier's repose, the proper ventilation of the apartments could not be a difficult or a tedious process; for the paillasses, which are spread out upon the floor at night, being carried into the open air, in fine weather, or otherwise piled up in the corner of the apartment in the morning, the area is left free of incumbrance, presenting no matters which interrupt the circu-

circulation of a pure atmosphere, in the whole extent of the room; so that every thing, which is impure, or disposed to stagnate, being readily moved into the current of circulation, produced by the strong heat of fire, or the counter opening of doors and windows, is guided to an outlet and speedily expelled.

Provisions for sleeping.

Besides paillasses, filled with straw, sheets and blankets are the ordinary equipment of barrack apartments; but, if instead of sheets or blankets, a soldier were provided with a robe de chambre of coarse and strong cotton cloth, made sufficiently long to cover the feet and ancles, he would sleep comfortably; and, with the addition of his cloak and the warmth of his comrades, he would sleep as warm as a soldier ought to be accustomed to sleep. When he enters upon service, as he has, or ought to have the same equipment, he experiences but a small change of condition, feels little chagrin, and has no great chance of suffering materially in his health,---for nothing is new. He depends upon himself for his personal comfort; and, as he continues to move, in this respect, in the same channel in war, as in peace, he neither experiences luxury, nor want; is neither raised high in hope with anticipation of indulgences; nor depressed in spirit with an idea of accumulating hardships. This constitutes a soldier; hence it is the office of a rational military institution to train the recruit in a systematic school, till he acquires this firm and steady habit of enduring, with impunity, whatever may occur in the course of his military duties.

Purification.

The manner of cleaning and purifying barrack apartments is a subject, not to be passed over without notice in the present sketch. If the apartments be infected with the causes of contagious disease, nitrous fumigations and white-washing are common means of purification; but if the infection be strong they will not be found to be sufficient. A hot varnish would be

be decisive and radical; but it is expensive. In prevention of infection, common washing of the floors and walls with soap and water (provided the walls are smooth and polished) twice a week, in warm and fine weather; or dry rubbing daily, with a hard and heavy brush, in cold, damp and foggy weather, may, with the proper ventilations, be considered as sufficient security, where the furniture and equipment are such as have been stated. The washing, or rubbing removes noxious matters which adhere to the walls or floors; the ventilation, by a proper management of a volume of pure air, entering at the level of the floor by doors and windows, in fine weather; or, by proper movement of air, rarefied in consequence of the action of strong heat of fire, in damp and foggy weather, prevents the aggregation of matters which become noxious by concentration; or it dissipates them completely when aggregated. Upon the whole, if the outline of the suggestions, hinted in this place, be filled up in detail and followed out with care in execution, it may be confidently assumed, that contagious fever will not arise in barrack apartments; even, if imported, it will not exist for any length of time. As things are, it is prevented from generating with difficulty; when generated, it scarcely can be expelled, without abandoning the apartment and changing or destroying the furniture.

2. *Encampment.*

Ground of encampment.

The subject of encampment, or manner of covering troops in the field, is not less important, than that which has been just now considered. There is here, as in the other case, a necessity, on many occasions, which leaves no option of choice in occupying positions; but there is unfortunately an authority, derived from example and the sanction of high names, which directs the military

military officer, when under no military constraint, to fix his encampment on grounds which are unhealthy in themselves, or which are exposed, by position, to the influence of the surrounding causes of disease. Such measures proceed from acting on a presumed knowledge of the intimate causes of things, which we cannot know; instead of acting, by the experience of facts, which we are qualified to observe and to ascertain. It is consonant with the experience of military people in all ages and countries, that camp diseases most abound near the muddy banks of large rivers, near swamps and ponds, and on grounds newly stripped of their woods. This is a fact which every history confirms; but the practical application of the fact has been set aside to make way for an opinion. It was assumed as a truth amid the varying fashion of medical doctrines, that camp diseases originated in putrefaction as in a source, and that putrefaction was connected radically with a stagnant condition of the air. As streams of air usually proceed along rivers, with more certainty and force than in other places, and, as there is evidently a more certain movement of the air, that is, more wind in open grounds than in woods, this sole consideration, without any regard to the testimony of experience, seems to have influenced opinion, so far as to establish a general maxim, that the banks of rivers, open grounds, and heights exposed to currents of air, were to be considered as the most eligible situations for the encampment of troops. They are the best ventilated; consequently, they must, according to the theory, be the most healthy. The fact is the reverse; but the authority of fashion has more force than multiplied examples of fact. The custom has prevailed, for at least half a century, of forming encampments near the banks of large rivers, on exposed heights; even in the neighbourhood of swamps, and on grounds newly cleared of their woods. The savage, who acts by in-

 stinct,

stinct, or who acts directly from the impressions of experience, has, in this instance, the advantage over the philosopher, who reasoning concerning causes which he cannot know, and acting according to the impulse of his reasonings, errs widely in his course, and leads others astray by the authority of his example. In the case under question, the Savage, who feels and estimates impression, but who does not search for hidden causes and shape his course by the phantom of a vision, instead of fixing his habitation on the exposed bank of a large river, on an unsheltered height, or, on ground newly cleared of its wood, because it is well ventilated, seeks the cover of the forest, avoiding the streams of air which proceed from rivers, from the surface of ponds, or of grounds newly exposed and opened to the sun. The rule is a rule of experience,—good and true, and applicable to the encampment of troops.—It is safe, consequently it is wise in all cases to avoid the exposed banks of large rivers, exposed heights in the neighbourhood of swamps, and newly cleared grounds, which in some degree possess the qualities of swamps.

Difference of position.

As it is wise to avoid the places now mentioned, it is useful to ascertain the distance, to which the influence of the atmosphere of these noxious places extends; because, if circumstances do not permit the removing of the encampment to a safe distance from the noxious cause, prudence directs that the best known remedies be put in force to soften the violence of its action. The obvious remedies consist in the interposition of rising grounds, woods, or such other impediments, as serve to break the current of air in its progress from the noxious source. The noxious cause, here in view, proceeds from the muddy banks of rivers, from swamps, from swampy and newly cleared grounds. It ascends as it proceeds in its course in common with all exhalation; its impression is augmented by the force,

with

with which it strikes externally upon the circumference of the body. It is thus often seen, that a position, at three hundred paces from the margin of a swamp, on a level with the swamp, or but moderately elevated, is less unhealthy than one at six hundred, on the same line of direction, but on an exposed height. The cause strikes fully in its ascent; and the atmosphere has here a more varied temperature: the movements of the air are more violently agitated; the impression is consequently more forcible. It is thus almost uniformly found to be true, that diseases are more common, at least greatly more violent, in broken, irregular and hilly countries, where the air is liable to sudden changes,—to blasts descending from the mountains, directed through ravines and gullies, than in large and extensive plains, in similar circumstances of soil and climate, but fanned by equal and gentle breezes, as more peculiarly belongs to a champaign country. If this be true, it becomes an object of some consequence, in choosing the ground of an encampment, to guard against the impression of strong winds on their own account, independently of their proceeding from swamps, or rivers, or of their passing over noxious places.

Mode of shelter.

The above is an outline of what regards the choice of ground for encampment. It remains to add a few remarks on the best manner of covering troops from the inclemencies of the weather. There is room for improvement on this head; and, perhaps, the very basis of the plan, now followed, might be changed with advantage. In countries, well supplied with wood, straw, and other materials for covering; and where there is no restraint in the use to be made of these articles, it will be found to be better, in all respects, to adopt the practice of forming huts and bowers, rather than of carrying tents. The measure proposed saves a great expence, and a considerable inconvenience on the head of transport in the first instance. It

further gives an interest to the service in all its stages; for the mind is employed and the body exercised in doing something on a private account; furnished, almost daily, with an opportunity of renewing the pleasure. It also effectually prevents the evils which arise from contagion,—an evil often generated in tents, and carried about with all the movements of an army; for an army sheltered by bowers, which do not last many days, without repair, even if the ground of encampment should not be changed, cannot be supposed to run any risk of danger from the action of a cause, which is generated or propagated, only in confined or unventilated places.

Cause of sickness.

It stands as a prominent fact in the history of campaigns, that serious evils frequently arise, in armies, from the ravages of contagious fever. As this is a contingent evil, the chances which give rise to such occurrence should be precluded with every possible care. It is proved by daily experience, in armies as in civil life, that injury does not often result from wettings with rain, where the subject uniformly dwells in the open air. The irregular troops, who act in the advance of armies, who, having no tents, not even huts or bowers, shelter themselves at the side of a hedge or tree, rarely experience sickness; never, at least, such sickness as proceeds from contagion. It may thence be fairly inferred, that the shelter, from weather, furnished by tents, is not necessary for the preservation of health. But while this is true, and while irregular troops are almost uniformly healthy without tents, sickness often rages with violence among those, who have all the protection which can be furnished by canvas. The fact is often verified, and the cause of it is not of difficult explanation. When the earth is damp or wet, the action of heat, on its surface, occasions the ascent of moisture, termed exhalation. The animal heat of the bodies of a given number of men, confined in a tent of a given dimension,

mension, raises the temperature, within the tent, beyond the temperature of the common air. The ascent of moisture is thus encouraged generally, by a change of temperature in the tent; and, more particularly, by the immediate or near contact of the heated bodies of the men, with the surface of the earth. Moisture, exhaled in a certain excess, from the earth by the action of heat, is considered, by observers of facts, to be a cause which affects health, or disturbs the due balance of animal movement. This cause, produced artificially by accumulating persons in narrow space in confined and crouded tents, may reasonably be supposed to produce its usual effect in armies. The balance of health is disturbed by its operation upon the animal system; and a further process is engendered in the animal functions, under the disturbances produced, giving out a peculiar manufacture, or emanation, which, concentrated in force, and closely applied to its subject, acts upon other animal bodies, disturbing the rule and economy of health, through a series of changes. The cause, and the consequent process in all its steps and stages, naturally result from accumulating bodies of men in close and crouded tents, under the pretext of defending them from the inclemencies of weather. The means, intended for the preservation of health, are thus the sources of serious evil; the balance of advantages, if the case be fairly estimated, not in fact appearing to lie on the side of the protections usually provided for troops, in the service of the field.

Remedy proposed.

But though tents, as a means of protection for troops against the inclemencies of weather, are more injurious than useful to health, according to the ordinary mode of construction and manner of adjustment; yet, as habits, acquired by long custom, grow into prejudices which are not easily overcome, it would be time lost to attempt to prove the utility of discontinuing

tinuing such means of accommodation. The arguments would not be listened to; for the suggestion appears as a retrograde movement to barbarous life. In the refined stage of manners and military habits, in which we now are, artificial protections are deemed indispensable; and tents must perhaps be permitted to be a constant appendage of armies; but though this must be submitted to in compliance with custom, it will not be denied, that it is worth trial to attempt to diminish the mischiefs which usually attend this customary mode of shelter. There are two causes, which more evidently act upon the health of troops in the field than any other; viz. moisture, exhaled from the earth in undue quantity; or emanations of a peculiar manufacture, arising from diseased or languishing animal structure; a cause generated, and concentrated in stagnating air. These, which are causes of disease, may be obviated by the following means. The first by a floor-cloth of painted canvass; the second by a form of construction,—furnishing barely the protection of a roof, as a defence against perpendicular rain, or a scorching sun. To the first remedy there can be no objection, either in utility, convenience or expence. As a floor-cloth prevents the ascent or exhalation of moisture with certainty, it is at the same time convenient; for it is always ready: it is even less expensive than straw if all things be calculated; for it may be made pure and clean every day with little trouble, and without any cost,—it requires to be fresh painted only once in the year. The other is connected with greater difficulties. It must be admitted as a truth, for it is well established by experience, that the health of a soldier is more secure, the vigour more permanent and effective, in proportion to the time which is spent in exercises, amusements and pastimes in the open air. As the contact of the open air is conducive to health, the shelter of the roof of a tent is the

necessary

necessary protection, as far as serves the useful purpose; but a roof like a marquée is liable to be overturned by the wind; a tent with close walls is liable, when crouded, to be contaminated with animal emanations. The first is the lesser evil; even that evil may be obviated by the use of walls, reserved for the occasional prevention of the effects of storms of rain or gusts of wind. If walls, two feet in depth, be attached to the round tents at present generally used for the accommodation of soldiers, very little addition will be thereby made to the weight of carriage; the means of preventing the inconveniences, occasionally arising from wind and rain, will be always at command; while the air will not easily suffer contamination; the roof being lofty, and the walls only attached under strong wind or driving rains, the ventilation for the most part will be perfect. With such protection from weather, wet ground and contamination of air, a soldier's health might be considered as secure, during the usual continuance of a campaign;—the equipment, which is here proposed to be allowed for his uses, must be deemed sufficient for his comfort at all times.

3. *Transport Ships.*

Importance of transport accommodation.

The preparation or arrangement of transport ships comprehends another form of lodging, or accommodation for troops, of very great importance in the preservation of health. It is commonly known, that, if persons, soldiers or sailors, be embarked on board of wholesome ships, themselves in perfect health, without seeds of disease lurking in their clothes or persons, the health suffers little interruption for a length of time; unless there be some material error or defect in economy and management. But, if the vessels be unwholesome; or, if the persons, embarked, carry with them the seeds of disease, the latent germ,

germ, called into action in a given time, grows, multiplies, and propagates itself widely, acquiring, in some instances, a concentrated virulence, which strikes with the force of a pestilence. The ravages of contagious fever, in hospitals and transport ships, are often terrible; they were enormous during some periods of the late war; and, it may reasonably be supposed, that the memory of the losses, then sustained, has raised a desire of instituting an enquiry into the causes of so grievous an evil, in the hopes of preventing a repetition of the calamity in future times. Whether such enquiry has actually been instituted systematically, or what progress has been made in the research, those high in office only know; but, if suggestions occur to those more humbly placed, which promise to be useful in mitigating the sufferings of men, and in diminishing the loss of soldiers, it is a duty of humanity in the first instance, and a duty of patriotism in the second, to make them known. The causes of the evil are not obscure; they are accidental and artificial,—the product of bad arrangement; the remedy may, consequently, be supposed to be attainable, as the error is placed in want of knowledge, or in neglect of applying the remedy which is known.

Points to be considered.

In viewing this subject with due attention, several points present themselves to be considered as matters of material importance. 1. The state of the ship, as to wholesomeness, or character for health. 2. Capacity, or allowance of tonnage, per man. 3. Height between decks, or quantity of space, allotted for the soldiers' accommodation. 4. Equipment of bedding, arrangement for sleeping, &c. 5. Divisions for sick and convalescent. 6. General means and provisions for washing and purifying, &c.

Character of healthiness.

1. *The character which a vessel possesses in point of health is important to be known.* It ought to be ascertained, by the clearest possible

possible testimony, whether or not a ship has been healthy, previous to her being admitted among the list of transports. There is something of obscurity on this head, not capable of any other demonstrative proof, besides bare testimony of fact. Some vessels are observed to be unhealthy, without any suspicion or possibility of ingrafted contagion. Such event often happens in ships, in their first voyages, ceasing gradually in a course of time. But though there, thus, appear to be qualities in wood or timber under certain states or conditions of seasoning, not discoverable by inspection, which prove noxious to the health of the human body; it is also certain, that though nothing may exist noxious to health in the constitution or natural condition of the timbers, it is still true, that, wherever contagious fever has prevailed in any ship or vessel, with such force and duration as might seem to ingraft contagion in the wooden parts, there is no safety in saying precisely when it is eradicated, unless other than common means are used for purification. For example, an infected transport ship, after undergoing a common purification, has been known to remain healthy for a length of time, when employed in the merchant service; when converted again into a transport for troops, the contagion has burst forth with violence, and committed great ravages. The knowledge of this fact furnishes reason to believe, that a vessel, which has been once thoroughly infected with the contagion of fever, can scarcely be esteemed pure; unless the decks and linings have been removed, and all the surfaces, which were exposed to the action of the noxious cause, renewed or covered with varnish. The noxious cause which exists, but is dormant in a vessel loaded with merchandise, is again called into activity by the heat and moisture of a croud of people.---Hence, a ship, which has been once infected, as she ever will be dangerous without thorough purification and repair, must be carefully examined

and scrutinised as to her character for healthiness, before she is admitted into the transport service.

Tonnage. 2. *Tonnage per man.* It is commonly known that a rule, with regard to allowance of tonnage, per man, is inferred in all embarkations; but the rule is not positively fixed, or adhered to correctly in all cases. It is varied arbitrarily, according to distance and destination of voyage; and, it is not clear, that the latitude, assumed on this head, is always, indeed ordinarily directed by a correct knowledge of the nature of things. For example, a greater allowance of tonnage is estimated for a transport destined for the West Indies, than for a transport destined to carry troops in the European seas. The rule is mistaken; for, in a voyage to the West Indies, where the fineness of the weather entices the soldier to the deck; where the constancy and force of the trade-winds ventilate the ship completely; and, perhaps, where the mere warmth of the tropical climate supports a mode of action in the animal body, which is not easily consistent with the existence of a contagious process, the allowance of tonnage might be reduced to the smallest scale, without apprehensions of injury on the score of health. On the contrary, in European seas, particularly in harbours and roads, in cold, damp and foggy weather, where the troops embarked are naturally disposed to huddle together for the sake of warmth, the air stagnates and becomes impure; for, the wind frequently failing, there is no ventilation, or but an imperfect one. Together with this circumstance, there being few or no objects to call up the attention, the action of life becomes languid, and a disposition is created, favourable to the contagious process. In such circumstances, a crouded transport rarely fails to become sickly; and it has been demonstrated, in many instances, that contagious fever, introduced by accident or arising spontaneously, has been propagated widely, and committed destruction

tion to a great extent in the British army, in European seas, even in the harbours and roadsteds of the kingdom.—The period, most favourable for the generation and propagation of this disease, is the latter end of autumn and beginning of winter, when the weather is close and damp; one of the most obvious causes is referable to accumulation, in circumstances where accumulation is least admissable.

Accommodation between decks.

3. *Height between decks, and quantity of space allotted for the soldiers' accommodation.* There exists a rule, but it appears to be only loosely adhered to, of allotting, nominally, a certain quantity of tonnage of shipping for the transport of a given number of troops. The largest allowances seem to be made for the longest voyages and the warmest climates. It has been hinted that this is not uniformly right. The measure may vary according to circumstances; but it may be assumed, that a fair allowance stands about two tons per man; for, if the disposition of the vessel between decks be good, this allowance may be supposed to be connected with the means of full freedom and liberty of moving, without embarrassment, for all embarked. The quantity of tonnage is the principle upon which the calculation, in providing transport, is ostensibly made; the measure of the space, between decks, is, in reality, that which requires to be principally considered; for it is that only with which the soldier is concerned. In a transport, intended to be fitted up with a double tier of berths, the height between decks, under the beam, ought not to be less than seven feet; and, that a soldier may have the power of lying at ease, he ought to be allowed, not less than two feet for the repose of his body. As the capacity of the 'tween decks, is that, which is chiefly wanted in a transport ship, it is clear, that, though the ship must be hired by the ton, in gross burden, it is the measure of the 'tween decks where the burden is disposed, that must

guide the judgment of the agent for transports, in fixing his choice of vessels.

Sleeping accommodation.

4. *Equipment of bedding and arrangement for sleeping.* Transport ships are usually furnished with bedding for the voyage, viz. a flock mattress and blankets. This bedding is not, in every instance, new; and, if not new, there is no certainty that it is safe; in other words, that it is not impregnated with contagion. The instances of the mischiefs, which have arisen from this source, are numerous: and, in the fair balance of accounts, it will be found to be true, that the ill judged economy of saving a few dirty blankets, or offensive mattresses, has often proved the cause of spreading diseases, which have destroyed the lives of soldiers to a great amount. It is, thus, that an idea of economy, or saving of money, without knowledge of causes, proves often to be ruinous profusion in its consequences. But, as it might be reckoned expensive to furnish new bedding, in every new embarkation; and as mischief has evidently arisen, in many cases, from the use of that which is impure, the evil, as it ought to be prevented, may, in fact, be easily prevented, by allowing the soldier to sleep on board, as he is supposed to sleep on shore, viz. in his cloak; and, if luxury and even health be consulted, stripped of his shirt, in a cotton robe de chambre in lieu of sheets. If the boards be esteemed to be too hard for the side of a soldier, in his hours of repose, he may be furnished with a blanket to be spread under him; or, the platform of board may be changed for moveable cot frames of canvas;—the expence will not equal that of mattresses, the comfort will be sufficient, and no danger to health will be thereby incurred.

It may be observed in this place, that transport ships have been sometimes fitted up with hammocks, instead of platforms; and it must be admitted, that where the soldiers are sufficiently accustomed to sea, so as to be able to manage with dexterity

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on all occasions, the advantages are evident; for the space between decks may, every day, be made a clear area by the removal of the hammocks to the deck, so as to admit of a thorough and perfect ventilation. But, on the other hand, where the soldier is unaccustomed to sea, and particularly where there are women and children on board, the 'tween decks of a transport ship, furnished with hammocks, instead of platforms, exhibits, in stormy weather, a scene of as great confusion as can well be imagined. There is here a positive and very serious inconvenience; the advantage is only contingent: the moveable platform, canvas or board, is, therefore, the more eligible mode of accommodating soldiers, on board of transport ships, in their sleeping hours;—canvas singly, or board covered by a blanket.

Division for sick.

5. *Division for sick and convalescent.*—Though it will always be imprudent, where an option of choice exists, to carry persons on board of transport ships with marks of a disease, which threatens danger to others; yet, as this necessity sometimes arises in the course of service; and, as diseases sometimes arise on board of ship, which threaten danger to the surrounding crowd; the best remedy, within command, must necessarily be applied to the case, where no opportunity offers of entirely removing the danger to a distance. This evidently consists in allotting a division of the vessel, for the reception of the infected, viz. an apartment,—cut off, by a partition, from communication with the berths of the healthy men; so that the danger, if not entirely precluded, may be materially diminished. This division must necessarily be at the bow of the ship, under the forecastle,---not, as the best part of the vessel for the purpose of recovery, but as the least noxious to those who are well. The division, for the sick, is supposed to have a communication with the deck by its own hatch-way; one side is allotted for those, who

who are in a state of convalescence; the other, for those, who are in the early and dangerous stages of illness.---The soldier, who is in health, is not allowed extra-bedding while on board of a transport ship; he, who is sick, on the contrary, is to be furnished with every thing, which, adding to comfort, promises to promote speedy recovery; viz. a cradle, in which to repose, a mattress---of a good quality, sheets, blankets, sick dress, and change of linen.

Purification. 6. *General means and provisions for washing, purifying,* &c.--- It will be useful in the first place, because convenient, that transport ships be furnished with a pump and hose at the bow of the vessel, for the facility of conveying water on deck, a plentiful supply of which is required for various purposes; likewise a fumigating apparatus, with the necessary materials; moveable fire-stoves, for drying and rectifying the air of the 'tween decks, in damp and close weather, or after washing; offal tubs, for the use of the messes at their meals, as preservative of cleanliness and propriety; and a common pantry, with a lock and key, in possession of the steward, for the reception of such part of the dressed provisions, as is not consumed at the ordinary meal. It is almost unnecessary to mention, for it is obvious to common sense, that there ought to be port holes in the sides of the ship, for each tier of berths, as large, and as numerous as is consistent with the safety of the vessel. The air-holes, which are cut in the decks of transports of late years, are inconvenient in various respects; while they are not, in fact, the means which promote a proper ventilation of the space within; they are formed on a wrong principle, like the air-holes or ventilators in barrack buildings.

There are other minor necessaries, useful in preserving a correct economy in transport ships, which occasions will best point out. The principal object, in the arrangement, consists in providing

viding the means of ensuring circulation and purity of air in the 'tween decks, propriety and cleanliness of person among the troops. The washing of the person is essentially useful, and always safe; but the 'tween decks ought only to be washed, in dry and fine weather; or, when means exist of speedily and effectually drying the air by fire-stoves;---for moisture, in a crouded place, is demonstrably injurious to health.

State of health.

A transport ship, completed in arrangement in all things in the manner suggested, and not more crouded than a judicious regulation admits, may be supposed to continue, for several months, a safe abode for troops who are embarked in perfect health. But though experience proves this fact to be true; yet a difficulty arises in discerning exactly the condition of perfect health; for disease, or the seeds of disease exist frequently in the bodies or clothes of men, without being indicated by external signs. Hence, a correct scrutiny, not only of the existing, but of the previous condition, is highly necessary for security; because, where the latent seeds of disease are introduced into a crouded vessel, they expand suddenly with the fostering causes which there prevail, and, acting with force, they spread destruction wide. To prevent this evil is the second object, which relates to arrangement in the embarkation of troops. It is equally important with the other; but it can scarcely be said, that it has as yet obtained a due attention.

Conditions of health.

Troops may be considered as standing in three conditions, previous to embarkation, viz. 1. In a state of perfect health, as far as respects exemption from acute disease, or suspicion of the existence of its causes---the health of long continuance, the preceding lodging well ventilated barracks, or tents, in the early part of summer. 2. They may be in a state of apparent good health at the time of embarkation; but the circumstances to which they have been exposed may be such as to give cause for

for the use of precautions; because, being drawn from encampments, fixed upon low grounds, or on exposed situations, in the latter end of autumn when the causes of disease prevail in force, there can be no security that the seeds of the malady have not taken root. 3. They may be actually under the influence of disease, acting epidemically in different degrees of virulence; whether previously lodged in barracks, or in the field under canvas.

State of perfect health.

1. In the first case, the precautions, necessary to be used in the event of embarkation, are few and simple. No danger is apprehended from importation of contagion; for none exists at the source. The care then is chiefly directed to regulations of economy and regimen as preventative of evils: And in this view, the ordinary diminution of the ration, which obtains when troops are embarked on ship-board, is judiciously calculated to obviate the fulness of habit, which may reasonably be supposed to arise in cases, where there is necessarily a diminution of the exercise or labour, to which the subject has been ordinarily accustomed. But if the curtailed diet, customary on ship-board, should not be thought sufficient to prevent repletion in a state of indolence, it will be proper to have recourse to salt water or other suitable means, as an occasional purgative. In a state of indolence and rest, particularly after exercise and fatigue, the practice of purging alluded to is salutary,---even necessary for the prevention of illness.

Suspicious condition.

In the second case, a good deal of care and judgment are required for the proper execution of a preventative plan of arrangement; for, though no disease may actually manifest itself at the time of embarkation, yet it is known, that, if a human body be exposed to the action of noxious causes, impression may be made by such causes, and the secret operation may advance in a regular progress, though the full developement of the action

action may not appear, before the expiration of a fortnight, a month, six weeks, or even a longer period. The cause of disease, in this case, is endemic; the form of the malady produced, gastric, manifested principally in the functions of the alimentary canal and biliary system. The seeds of it are not communicable to inanimate matters at their origin; they, consequently, are not conveyable by the medium of apparel. As the cause of this disease passes, only, in a direct channel from its source to the animal subject; and as it fixes its seat, or chiefly exerts its action upon the alimentary canal and its connexions, it is an inference of fair deduction that it should be first attacked in that quarter; for, there is thus a chance of its being dislodged from its place, before it has established a firm footing, that is, before its impression has passed beyond the first circle of organs. For the execution of this purpose, emetics followed by strong purgatives, (jalap and calomel), which, subverting the customary action, raise powerful commotion in the fibres of the alimentary canal, may be considered as highly serviceable. It may therefore be adviseable, for it bids fair to prevent a great deal of mischief, to administer, immediately after embarkation, an emetic and strong purgatives to troops, drawn from encampments which manifestly possess the causes ordinarily producing autumnal diseases, whether in the form of slow, bilious fever, or in the form of diarrhea or dysentery. This discipline, followed by the judicious use of stomachic bitters, a measured and correct regimen of diet, viz. a ration of provisions, diminished in quantity, but savoury and well dressed, is likely to obviate a great deal of the evil, which so frequently arises from the promiscuous embarkation of troops in the circumstances which have been described.

Existing disease.

The third case deserves a great deal of consideration, and the exercise of a discerning judgment to carry the purposes into

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execution. Circumstances of service sometimes compel military officers to the necessity of embarking troops in the unhealthy state described; but it ought to be known, and explained to the conviction of their understanding, that nothing but imperious necessity can justify the measure. Without foresight to plan, and exertion to execute effective arrangements in such cases, the introduction of contagious disease into a transport ship threatens to produce a multiplied destruction of human life. Wherever a fever, possessing the character of the contagious, prevails epidemically among troops, whether it be in barracks, or in camps, it may be confidently assumed as a truth, that the clothing of such troops cannot be pure, that is, cannot be free from the infection of a noxious material. Such clothing cannot, therefore, be permitted to enter the 'tween decks of a transport ship with impunity. It follows in sound reason, and it is consistent with economy, that the woollen part of this apparel, the purification of which is little to be depended upon, should be thrown into the sea; for it will serve little purpose to bathe, wash and purify externally, even to exterminate the infection in its first operation by emetics and purgatives, if the polluted garments be again suffered to touch the surface of the skin.—A proposition, which recommends the destruction of a soldier's clothing, may be expected to offend the superficial calculators of army estimates: those, whose ideas are capable of embracing the whole circle of the military movement and of tracing effects to their causes, will view the matter with a more favourable eye: they will strike a balance between the value of an old coat and the life of a soldier, and give their sanction to the least expensive sacrifice. The value, in loss of men, who have died in hospitals and transport ships from diseases, engendered by accumulation and propagated by infected clothing, exceeds all calculation: it is a melancholy loss; for it is a loss, which

which might and which ought to be prevented. In all cases, therefore, where troops are embarked from infected barracks, infected camps, or from infected hospitals, it will be found, in summing up the final account, to be a rule of radical economy to destroy every the minutest article of infected clothing; because, without such precaution, the other means, adopted for preserving health, will fail of their end. But, together with the destruction of contaminated clothing, the washing of the body externally, and purifying it internally by means of medical aids, it will also be eminently useful to excite and to support a strong and active operation in the system, as preventative of disease, viz. a routine of exercises for the body, and the impression of an elevated sentiment upon the mind; for it is well ascertained, that, under the domineering influence of an exalted sentiment, the cause of disease, if it should still exist, loses its force, or becomes absorbed, in an undescribable manner, in the stronger impression.

Economy of duty.

When troops have been embarked with the precautions stated above, health may be confidently considered as secure, if proper regulations be formed and rigidly observed during the continuance of the voyage. The great causes of sicknes, on board of ships, seem to consist in corruption of air from over crouding; in stagnation of air from defective means of ventilation, or excessive dampness; in torpor, or defect of animal power, connected with a state of indolence in body, or want of impression in mind; in too great fulness, from over feeding; or, in want of variety or proper mixture of foods. The corruption of air, from over crouding, is guarded against by the observance of regulations, by which is allotted a given space for a given number of men; but it will be guarded still further, by dividing the complement of the troops into three divisions—a measure generally adopted,—so that one division be always on deck, employed in

exercises or on active duties. Ventilation will be promoted, and corrupted air rectified by nitrous fumigations, more effectually still by the use of fire-stoves, and the counter opening of port-holes in fine weather. Further, as dampness or moisture is known to be hurtful to health, the introduction of wet clothing, between decks, must be expressly forbidden. This injunction must be rigidly enforced in all cases; for example, the guard, watch or division allotted for duty, if wetted with rain or sea water while on deck, must be stripped of the wet parts of the clothing before they are permitted to go below. Watch coats, capable of giving protection against rain or the sprays of the sea, come therefore to be a necessary provision for troops embarked:—the number allowed, equal to one third of the complement of the men.

Exercise.

It is plain that exercises, which are so necessary for the preservation of health, cannot be pursued with full scope on board of ship; but while the means are limited, it is, at the same time, indispensable, that such, as are practicable, be practised with diligence. Of these, fencing, cudgelling, dancing, and sparring are the principal. It will be useful for various reasons, that certain portions of time be allotted for each of these various exercises, care being taken that a soldier, while on board of ship, be constrained to practise one or other for some hours every day, carrying the exercise to such extent, that the circulation of the blood be quickened in its course, driven in a full stream to every part of the body, so as to produce a warm and free perspiration throughout. It is then, that the washing of the body with sea water, grateful to the sensations in the highest degree, imparts vigour and eminently confirms the health. But, besides the bodily exercises alluded to, which are to be carefully practised as a mechanical routine, a cement of mental impression must be called in aid—to animate and bind together. Martial songs, sung

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in chorus, ought therefore to occupy a portion of the time; and, the whole duties and exercises of the day ought to be sealed by divine service. This sanctifies and makes pure; it is the exercise, which raises the soldier the highest in his own estimation; for it persuades him that his actions rest on the basis of virtue. It is the exercise also for which the soldier is almost uniformly grateful. Other attentions have a military purpose in view; consequently, they are considered as proceeding from an interested motive. Religious instruction, as an office of benevolence on the broadest basis of Christian charity, is felt by the soldier as a comfort imparted to himself, on his own account. His heart is warmed with gratitude for his instructor; and the effect has a powerful operation in war; for, impressed with the religious sentiment, he is faithful in the performance of his duties, firm in his conduct in trials of danger. The religious principle commands an uniform and steady perseverance in the right course in the midst of difficulties. But the instruction, which teaches the soldier to walk in this path, though so important in itself, and so grateful in its effect, is gone into disuse, of late years, in the greater number of European armies. In some, the forms do not even exist; in others, the formal execution of certain services is contracted for as a job of common work. A clergyman, domesticated with a regiment, planting the stock, and cherishing the growth of virtue and morality among soldiers, with the paternal care which belongs to the religious character, is now rarely to be seen. The religious discipline is relaxed; the office of instruction is even formally annulled; and where this is the case, it may be said with truth, that error exists of considerable extent. A regulation, which curtails the religious establishment of an army, may be viewed with a favourable eye, as economical of money; but it is neither kind in spirit, nor perhaps wise in foresight. The comforts of religion, administered

nistered to the sick or dying soldier, by a devout regimental chaplain (where such is found) are balm to the mind; the firm impression of the religious sentiment, prominent in the eye, is the best support of courage. This may seem to be proved in the example of the Swedes, who attained a perfection in discipline from the operation of the religious sentiment, to which the Prussians never could aspire. Such language will be deemed, by some, to be the ravings of a methodist or puritan; for it is now, or lately was, fashionable to neglect or ridicule the idea of religion and morals being necessary for a soldier. The ridicule is founded in want of knowledge of the nature of things. The author of this remark is not a bigot; but he is fully aware that a soldier without the impression of religion, which, as it is the impression of virtue, implies the only consistent principle which directs moral action, may be considered to be as much disposed to overturn, as to maintain the order of society; for, unless the eye be directed towards a superior and commanding object, and religion is the highest of objects, that within which all duties are comprehended, the animal fabric is liable to be acted upon by a multitude of causes, which, moving capricious appetites, allured by partial and deceptive advantages, pursue pernicious things, to the destruction of order and good rule. The religious man does his duty for his duty's sake; the man, without religion, acts, as moved by a bribe, or allured by an appetite; the one is a soldier in principle; the other from caprice or self-interest.

Ration of provisions at sea.

The evils, arising from a full diet as connected with restraint from action, appear to have been foreseen in former times, and wisely guarded against by a diminution of the ration of provisions, when troops are embarked on ship-board. The variety or change of the species, allotted for the diet of particular days, shews also that the subject has been considered with some knowledge

knowledge of principles. But, whether the defect arises from national prejudices, or other cause, it must still be admitted, that others stand before the English in the knowledge of economical sea arrangement. The most eminent on this head are the Dutch, who appear to have formed their table of diet for persons at sea, with greater judgment than any other people in Europe.

Conclusion.

The management of troops in transport ships is an important concern;—the outline of the principle is only given in this place. The examples of the advantages of knowledge and care on this head over ignorance and neglect, are so numerous and well contrasted, as to deserve to call the attention of the higher class of military officers to a correct scrutiny of the character of those, to whom they entrust command, in a matter which so nearly interests the well being of the army as the preservation of its health. It does not rest on the authority of a solitary instance, that, of two men, similarly circumstanced in all respects, the one has preserved the troops under his command, by care and attention, in a state of perfect health during the continuance of a long voyage; the other, from indolence or want of knowledge, has suffered disease to rise, to spread and to infect the mass. If such difference exists between men, in diligence and capacity, it ought to be known and appreciated; so that the diligent and the capable only be placed in offices of trust; consequently, only in the command of transport ships, which is one of the most important of trusts.

SECTION

SECTION V.

The Mode of Arranging and Conducting a March.

Exact knowledge of condition.

THE proper management of troops, in the field of service, is an object of important consideration. It is a subject, which requires much attention; for, troops cannot be properly conducted on the march without correct previous arrangement, some part of it depending upon the military officer, some part of it depending upon the care of the soldier himself. It belongs, for instance, to the military officer who commands, to inform himself correctly of the nature of the roads and qualities of the ground on which he has to act; as, without such knowledge, embarrassments will necessarily arise, which might have been avoided by the help of better information. Without knowledge of roads,—not merely the distance, but the number and nature of the impediments which the roads present, there can be no precision in the calculation of time, no more than in estimate of power of action remaining, when the force reaches its destination. When these are correctly known, the calculation of the result may be made with some exactness. The officer, commanding in chief, is the person, who, knowing the general circumstances, forms the warlike arrangement. He necessarily forms it upon the supposition, that all the parts of the instrument are perfect; consequently, it is the business of the subordinate officers to know that they are so. On these grounds, it is not only advisable, but indispensable, if correct effect be the object in view, that the state of health be examined rigidly by the officers of health; that the condition of the feet, and all other adjustments which relate to the effective powers of the soldier, be duly

duly ascertained by the subaltern military officer, before the army, detachment or corps be permitted to enter upon a march, or expedition of service. The feet are an essential part of a soldier's body; they deserve a particular regard in the adjustment previous to a march; for it is often experienced in trial, that men suffer pain and fail in their duties from neglects on this head alone. The officer, for instance, ought to know that the feet of the soldier are actually free from blisters; that the toes are not beset with corns, which, independently of pain, impair the power of the limbs; that the nails do not grow into the flesh; and that the shoes, while they are sufficiently strong to endure the march, are also sufficiently easy, so as not to confine the necessary play of the foot or injure parts by their pressure. But besides the care, which relates to the feet of soldiers, there are other concerns, to be adjusted in the conducting of a march, of considerable moment; for soldiers, as things are, can rarely be left to themselves in matters which require foresight. It is therefore the duty of the military officer to know from his own observation, that every soldier of his company, that is, under his immediate command, be furnished with what is fit for his purposes; that necessaries, while they do not exceed the proportion, which is strictly useful for the soldiers' needs, be so arranged for carriage, as to give the least possible inconvenience by the manner of disposition. If the necessaries do not exceed the proportion of the schedule proposed, the incumbrance, from weight, will be small; and, if they be disposed in a havresack, hung over the shoulder like a sportsman's pouch, the cloak hanging diagonally over the other, the balance will be equal, and the inconvenience but lightly felt.

Necessaries and manner of transport.

In all matters, where the calculations are made for the purpose of an effect, precise measure only is that which is wanted. This does not seem to be always sufficiently attended to; for

there exists a rage, in the present times, for multiplying a soldier's necessaries, with the view of adding to his comforts. The idea is mistaken,—the fancy of those, who never served a campaign in a humble station. It is an evident fact, level to the understanding of every man, that there is not more comfort in six clean shirts than in one; while it is plain, that a knapsack, crammed with variety, loading a soldier like a pack-horse, occasions fatigue by its weight, and exhausts the powers, which ought to be reserved for military exertion, in carrying a load of useless baggage. Superfluity of baggage is thus a common error in military arrangement; but while quantity is superfluous, the usual manner of disposing of it, for transport, is not well contrived. A knapsack, which is crammed full and stuffed hard, is disposed to roll upon the back; while the shoulder-straps probably gall the parts to which they are applied, if the whole weight of the pack be allowed to bear upon the stump of the shoulder. With a view of remedying these inconveniences, the shoulder-straps are united by a belt across the breast. The remedy is worse than the evil; and, it is worse, on this account, that few persons are aware of the mischiefs which it occasions. A belt, carried across the breast, necessarily pressed by the weight of the pack, and confining the free motion of the chest, impedes the respiration. Whatever impedes respiration is a cause of increasing the heat of the body beyond the due measure. It is thus that the soldier, who buckles a belt across the breast in order to prevent the pack from rolling, is oppressed, and pants for breath without adverting to the cause which occasions the oppression. On the contrary, when the pack is placed high, and when it hangs wholly by the shoulder-straps, the motions of the chest not being impeded by a cross belt, the respiration is free and unconfined, the body remains cool, at least is not preternaturally heated by an adventitious cause: fatigue is here a remote contingence; it is an immediate

immediate effect of the confined respiration occasioned by the pressure of a belt across the chest. Attention is thus necessary in arranging baggage and necessaries for the convenience of transport; but besides this attention, it is likewise proper that the military officer inform himself, by his own observation, that the soldier is otherwise duly prepared for the march; viz. that he has breakfasted,—the breakfast, tea, coffee, or bouillon with a portion of bread; as also that he carry a morsel of bread in his havresack, and beverage in his canteen—tea, or vinegar and water, preferable to rum and water, the allowed beverage of the British troops on foreign service.

When a soldier has been prepared in the manner stated, the next attention is directed to the mode of conducting the march, the pace of which ought to be precisely exact and uniform, through all the parts of the column or army. As soldiers are supposed to be arranged in companies, according to their powers of exertion; and, as there must necessarily be some variety of power in the different companies, it is obvious, that, in order to render the march of an army as uniform throughout as possible, the least effective companies ought to be placed in the front of the column, where the movement is the least fatiguing. The rate of the slow or easy pace, at which troops are supposed to march, does not exceed three miles per hour; the rate of the exerted march amounts to four. These paces are supposed to be changed at intervals for the sake of relief; but they are to be changed at regular intervals; the space and the time are to be measured exactly by a person of a just step. If this be not done there can be no precision in combined movements; hence general effect will be marred, by the transgression of a fundamental rule of order. Various circumstances arise, in the course of a march, from the necessities of human nature, which occasion individuals to fall out from the ranks. This seems irregular and unseemly; it will therefore be proper, that a general halt be ordered

Conducting of the march.

at the end of the first hour's march for the space of three minutes, in order, that every one may have the opportunity of adjusting those matters which require adjustment, without breaking or interrupting the line of march by yielding to the necessities of the moment. The march of the first hour is to be performed at the slow pace; the march of the second hour at the exerted pace. The column or army having moved for the space of one hour at this rate, is supposed to halt for fifteen minutes; during which halt, it ought to be recommended, if the ground permit, that every man put himself into a horizontal posture, so that the limbs may be stretched out at ease; for it is only in a horizontal posture, that the limbs experience, in full effect, the benefits of rest. When fifteen minutes are expired, the march is again resumed at the slow pace. At the end of an hour, there is a halt for three minutes, followed by a march of an hour's continuance at the exerted pace. In this manner, a journey, of fourteen miles, is performed in the space of four hours and a half, including the time allotted for haltings; and, if conducted in the manner here directed, it can scarcely be supposed, that any persons, admitted into the ranks of an army, will fail in performing it. A distance of fourteen miles is the common distance of a day's march on ordinary occasions; but when circumstances occur, which require that the march be prolonged, even that it be doubled, the exertion will not, it is presumed, bear hard upon well formed troops, if due care be taken in adjusting the primary arrangement, and due consideration be employed in the manner of conducting the movement. For instance, a halt, for the space of an hour, is supposed to take place after the performance of the first part of the journey; the shoes, socks and pantaloons taken off, the feet, legs and thighs washed, or well bathed with cold water, if the nature of the halting ground supplies water in sufficient quantity for the purpose; if water is deficient, they may be rubbed with a wet towel

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and exposed to the cool air. This process restores vigour to the limbs, as effectually as a repose of several hours: and, if any sensation of hunger or faintness, which may accidentally arise, be taken off by eating a morsel of bread, washed down by tea, or vinegar and water, with which every soldier is supposed to be provided, the march may be resumed; and, with the observance of the rules before described, it is believed, that it may be performed with ease in the calculated time, if care has been taken in the primary arrangement to separate such parts, as were found to be temporarily weak or defective in power.

Movement of baggage.

Further, the arrangement of such baggage, as is indispensable for common use, is a matter which requires to be duly considered in conducting the march of an army. If a soldier be equipped in the manner which has been pointed out, he is independent in himself, carrying all things with him for which he actually has occasion; but, where a regiment, column or detachment of an army moves forward, arranged in such order, and so prepared as to be ready to meet an enemy, it becomes necessary that its baggage and incumbrances follow in the rear, properly adjusted so as to be moved without confusion, and, so conducted as to arrive at its station in due time. The baggage of a fighting army consists of tents, &c., perhaps the undressed provisions of the day, persons who are sick, or indisposed, women and children. These proceed in the rear, under a proper military escort, the pace calculated so as to correspond, according to a proportional rule, with the movement of the effective part. It is necessary in this case, as well as in the other, that the most exact method be adopted in the arrangement, and that the most exact order be observed on the route; as otherwise, the expectations of the soldier will be disappointed, and, probably, the whole plan of operation disconcerted by error in things essentially necessary, but which do not strike at first sight as being of primary importance.

SECTION

SECTION VI.

Cantonment or Quarters, Diet, Clothing, Exercise and Rule of Conduct for Troops, serving in Tropical Climates.

Occurrence of sickness from climate.

MILITARY service implies frequent change of place and condition: change of place and condition implies the occurrence of disease; for disease is the effect of new impression, arising from the action of new causes. Such changes happen in the course of military service in climates of the same or similar latitudes; they happen more frequently and more remarkably in latitudes and climates as they differ more widely. In this manner, the inhabitants of temperate countries, for instance the inhabitants of the northern parts of Europe, suffer severely in their migrations to tropical latitudes, particularly, in their migrations to the islands in the American seas. The mortality among such (whether planters or merchants) stands high; among military, it is enormous; the fact being often proved, of late years, that the revolution of a season kills or renders ineffective two thirds of a regiment or of an army, allotted to the service of the islands in the West Indies. If this be so, and if human life be considered, in the eye of a nation, as a possession of value, the loss, thus resulting from foreign commerce and foreign war, is a serious loss in the balance of accounts—estimated in mercantile calculation. Hence it is an object of consequence, in an economical point of view, to investigate the sources from which the loss radically springs, for the purpose of discovering a remedy for the evil. Men are the means or instruments, by which nations attain wealth and power; they must consequently be husbanded with care, otherwise the operations

of

of the state will stagnate—terminating in bankruptcy, in defect of the means of productive labour. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that the instruction, which teaches the mode of preserving health under those migrations, as it is one of the most important offices in a state, so it will be considered as one of the most acceptable to the wishes of a humane people. This is a reasonable supposition in theory; it has not always obtained attention in practice.

Causes of sickness.

It may be observed in this place, as an explanatory fact, that excess of irritability, constitutional or accidental, is the quality of habit, which most disposes the human body to the action of the causes of acute disease. The degrees of irritability are exalted by the action of heat. Heat and moisture are the obvious causes of expansion or growth in animal, equally as in vegetable structure. Hence it follows, by a simple reason, that the native of a northern latitude, transported suddenly to a tropical climate, acted upon by an increased measure of heat and moisture, expands in volume, or fills rapidly. This is a physical effect, beautiful in appearance, and pleasing in operation, as moving in an animated and harmonic circle; but it also happens, that this beautiful effect of expansion, exceeding in degree from quantity, or obstructed in regular progress from accident, bursts the assigned limits of harmony: subversion ensues, a movement commences in a new circle;—in common language, a diseased action arises in consequence of the change. It is thus evident, that a cause of excess produces rapid expansion, terminating in evacuation by outlet; or, in the subversion of harmonic movement, terminating in one or other of the forms of febrile irritation, accompanied, in its turn, by its own creative process, which again produces a crisis in a given time. Expansion, or repletion is thus a predisposing cause of acute disease in tropical climates. This is presumed, indeed may be considered

dered as proved from the known fact, that, the full, the florid, the robust and athletic subject, with a tense and rigid fibre, is the person most liable to endemic malady in its most violent form; that the thin exhausted subject, with a delicate and lax fibre, usually escapes with impunity; that febrile irritation is rare, where the skin is open and perspirable; it is also rare, where the bowels are open, or rather where diarrhea exists; it is seldom seen where the legs ulcerate and discharge freely. Finally, it may be remarked as corroborative of the position, that while health is secure in the cases stated, the suppression, or cure of the evacuations or discharges alluded to, is often followed by febrile irritation of the most aggravated kind. But as acute disease or febrile irritation is evidently connected with repletion from full living; so low living, abstinence, hard labour and exertion, are causes, which ostensibly maintain the machine in regular movement against the action of the ordinary causes, which solicit subversion. Such customs or habits of exercise may be supposed to produce effect, as preventative of repletion, or as operative of impression absorbing the impressions of a morbid cause.

General remedy.

As excess of heat and moisture, the natural causes of growth or expansion, is the ostensible cause of the frequency of acute disease in tropical climates, it is evident, that the application of this cause, as disturbing the harmony of health, should, as far as possible, be avoided; or, that the standard of irritability, upon which it acts, should be lowered artificially, so that a given force of irritation may not produce the subversive effect, it might otherwise be expected to produce. It is by such consideration that the balance of health must be regulated, viz. by a reduction of the heat and moisture of the climate; or by an abstraction of the susceptible qualities of the animal body; a condition effected by artificial avocations, or a low measure of irritability

irritability in the active powers. The latter is the product of regimen, whereby the habit is rendered capable of bearing an extra quantity of irritations, without incurring interruption in the ordinary course of its movements. But if this position be well founded, and if the fundamental rules, essential to the permanence of health, be regulated between the excess of morbid causes and the condition of subject, it is obvious, that, as morbid causes are connected with soil and position, the character of cantonments and military positions should be correctly scrutinised,---with the view, that, their properties being known, their evils may be remedied to the utmost possible extent of remedy.

The action of heat and moisture, as has been observed repeatedly, is the obvious physical cause of growth and expansion; the action of these qualities in excess is the obvious cause of disease, producing, by undue irritation, the subversion of a natural process. This excess usually abounds in low grounds, in rich and fertile soils (not covered, or but imperfectly covered with vegetation) on the banks of slow moving rivers—near stagnant waters, swamps and ponds. For a similar reason, it is usually in high proportion near the sea-coast—from quality of soil; the shore being the reservoir of the inland country—the depot of its moisture and its riches. The action of heat and moisture is consequently impressive in such situations; and, according to this rule, the shores of most countries, particularly the shores of tropical countries, are found to be unhealthy. The interior is elevated in most cases; and it is cool in proportion to its elevation; the surface is in itself dry, or its moisture circulates actively by declivity of position, or porosity of soil: health is consequently less interrupted in its course; because, as formerly remarked, the cause of disease (heat and moisture) less abounds. Situation.

Scale of disease according to situation.

The question, under consideration, is of importance; and, it may be thought to be illustrative of its nature, to notice the progress and gradation of disease according to locality in tropical climates. The rule is nearly the same in all the islands of the West Indies; at least it rests on the same basis, varied by circumstances of accident,—force of cause, or mode of application. The proper endemic disease of the tropical islands, in the American seas, is a fever of the remitting type; varied in character and form from the mild regular remittent, with distinct paroxysms and uniform periods of crisis, to the complicated and obscure types of a malignant nature. The disease is radically remitting,—distinctly so for the most part in natives, in persons assimilated by long residence, ordinarily in all persons in wet seasons, and in swampy places. In strangers,---natives of northern latitudes,---young, strong, athletic, full in habit, rigid in fibre, quartered in crouded apartments—especially in dry weather, it often assumes the continued form,---ardent in its symptoms, rapid in its course, characterised by a subsiding on the third day, tending to a fatal termination by a process of interior disorganization, rather than relieved by a remission accompanied with a critical sweat. This is the yellow fever,—the disease of the country, modified by circumstances of subject and place. The endemic fever of these islands is usually most aggravated near the sea-coast, particularly, in bottoms between mountains, in positions near swamps, near foul grounds, near the oozy banks of rivers or brooks. In places but a few miles withdrawn from the sea-coast, especially among mountains, or behind the first ridge of mountain, the form of the febrile disease is mild,—remitting,—even intermitting. Diarrhea and ulcers of the legs are common in this elevated district, particularly in the dry season. On the central ridge of the larger islands, well clothed with verdure, or covered with woods as is the

the case in most, febrile disease is rarely seen:—slight diarrhea or ulcers of the legs are the only interruptions to the enjoyment of perfect health in such places.

Such is the gradation in the intensity of disease, in tropical countries, according to locality. It observes a proportion with the heat of the atmosphere, and stagnant moisture of the soil, modified by force and direction of winds, protection from woods, or exposure of the bare surface, elevation or depression of place. If this be the fact as to locality in its connexion with health, it will naturally be expected, that an enlightened government will be induced to take advantage of the physical properties of positions, for perfecting a plan of accommodation for its military, a subject essential to its interests, as preservative of the lives of its soldiers. But, though the economical advantages of a preservative plan are in themselves demonstrative, exclusively of all other contingent considerations, it does not yet appear that the subject has been viewed on a broad and scientific basis. Traffic is the object of colonizing, at least the object of establishing sugar colonies; and, as the produce of the colony is to be transported to foreign countries, the chief view is directed to the facilities of transport,---the conveniences for export and import. Towns are therefore built upon the shores of the islands, ---in bays and creeks, or near the mouths of rivers for the sake of harbours. The military force is allotted to the protection of the towns or sea-ports, which are the seats of government, or the depots of the marketable property; consequently, the troops, stationed in the vicinity of such places, are frequently destined to dwell in situations, which, abounding with the causes of disease, operate a subversion of health,---even rapidly destroy life. This is the fact according to the common rule of arrangement: and, in this condition, it may be thought not to be unworthy the cares of a state to examine the subject with a

Unhealthy positions from convenience.

scientific eye; for the sake of ascertaining, whether or not the purposes of defence and protection may be attained by a disposition of the military force, more consistent with the preservation of health than that which commonly obtains. It is positively true; for it has been proved to demonstration---by accident rather than design, that European troops may be so disposed in the islands of the West Indies, as to retain the possession of health, nearly as perfectly and as effectively, as they could be expected to do in their native country. It was verified in the late war in the island of St. Domingo; and, the general truth is further confirmed by experiences, in the island of Jamaica, particularly since the termination of the war with the Maroon negroes.

Remedies.

The air of the interior and mountainous parts of the larger islands within the tropics is not, in reality, unfriendly to the European constitution. European soldiers, so stationed, have remained for seasons, and might have remained for a series of years, without sustaining material injury to health, as an effect of climate. Such position is therefore desirable; but it is not always attainable: hence where circumstances occur, which render it impossible for the troops, destined for the defence of the islands, to be stationed in these interior and healthy parts, the best attainable means of remedy must be adopted in relief of the necessity which exists; for the evils, which cannot be avoided, must be met and combated with skill and courage.--- The excess of heat and moisture is known to be a predominant cause of acute disease in tropical countries. It is known, that this cause acts by a power of expansion, which, bursting the limits of harmony, terminates in evacuation by the skin or bowels, in local depositions, or in general febrile irritations. Hence, if the European soldier be under the necessity of remaining exposed to the operation of this expansive, and ultimately

mately deranging cause, it becomes the duty of those, who superintend the military arrangement, to provide all the possible means of increasing the powers of resistance. The powers of resistance, in this case, consist in a low measure of irritability;---in other words, in a slow susceptibility of the cause of expansion, which is excess of heat and moisture. This condition is attained by diminution of quantity, and change of quality of diet; by artificial evacuations, preventative of repletion; by occupation of mind and body, which directs the animal movement into a channel consistent with health, but little susceptible of the impressions of the causes of disease. Abstinence, evacuation and exercise operate this effect. The matter of fact is clear; and the explanation of it is plain to the reason of every one, who considers the laws and economy of animal structure with attention. The case has been tried; and it has been proved on many occasions, that persons, who live abstemiously, who live chiefly on vegetable and farinaceous foods, which furnish nutriment of a less irritable quality than animal matters, not only escape sickness in tropical climates, but preserve their health in vigour and activity, while those, who live fully and fare sumptuously, suffer sickness and die in great numbers. This has been frequently seen in times of war, in the example of prisoners, who, furnished with a measured ration, especially a farinaceous ration, chiefly bread and rice, rarely experience sickness; at least such sickness as belongs to climate. It was strongly proved in St. Domingo in the late war. A vegetable diet, or a mixed diet with a diminished portion of animal food, may therefore be considered among the means preservative of health. But, besides the value of a low measure of diet as preservative of health, it is further to be observed, that sobriety, or temperance in drinking must be ranked among the causes, which conduce to the same beneficial purpose. It may however

ever be remarked in this place, that intemperance in drinking, though in reality less directly destructive of health than high or full living, is generally considered as a more prominent cause of sickness and mortality among European soldiers in tropical countries, than the other. The ration of rum, with which the soldier is furnished in the West Indies, lays the foundations of engendering a habit of drunkenness, which, aided by the facility with which rum is procured in those countries, degenerates into sottishness, corrupts morals, destroys military energies, and finally undermines health. But while this is true, it must at the same time be admitted, that though excess of drinking is accidentally a cause of fever, it is not generally a cause of acute disease. The allowance of a ration of rum is a pernicious bounty, in various points of view. The measure was adopted unwisely, for the effect is hurtful in various ways. It is not however denied, but that occasions may and often do arise, where a small glass of pure rum, as a liqueur, is useful in quickening the functions of the stomach; particularly, where the food is principally vegetable or farinaceous. But, though the benefit of this practice be sensibly felt in many cases, it must likewise be observed, that rum is less useful when mixed with water in form of grog, than when taken pure in small quantity as a liqueur. The rum is useful in the case alluded to, in languor of the stomach, by its action in stimulating the powers of digestion; the grog is hurtful in the other, as a diluting liquor. For the purpose of dilution, water, as the provision of Providence, is the best; and, it is the best on this, as well as other accounts, that it engenders no desire to drink where there is no thirst. The fabricated liquor, on the contrary, engenders a desire of more: Enticing the soldier to drink where there is no real thirst, it confirms a habit which finally destroys its votary,---an effect, resulting from a law of Nature, calculated to punish the errors of human ingenuity,

ingenuity, exerted in contriving indulgences for artificial appetites.

Besides a measured regimen of diet, viz. abstinence in eating and temperance in drinking, which preserves the moving parts of animal structure at a low tone of irritability, there are other means, which diminish the volume of the juices, the materials upon which heat operates, and, which may thus be considered as means preventative of the explosions of disease. These are means of the purgative and evacuating class. It is to be remarked in this place, that there are times of repletion or accumulation of irritability, depending upon the operation of an obscure law in organic structure, which, occurring periodically, gives a periodical disposition to the occurrence of diseased movements. These periods are connected, in some degree, with the appearances of new and full moon. They are obviously connected with fulness or irritability; hence, a strong dose of physic,—calomel, followed by purging salts,—or jalap and calomel, administered on the third day preceding the full or change, bids fair to prevent a febrile movement—by the effect of depletion, or by directing the accumulated irritability into another channel, or outlet. The day of the exhibition of the purgative being a day of abstinence, such routine, it is presumed, may prove preventative of sickness in sickly times; particularly, among Europeans during the first six months after their arrival in tropical climates. The management of this purging process must be left to the discretion of men of the medical profession: the usefulness is well founded,—confirmed in frequent examples of accidental experience, so as to be demonstrable to common apprehension.

Evacuating remedies.

It is a common observation, that occupation of mind and body, implying exercise to an extent sufficient to act with impression upon animal structure, is preventative of disease among

Exercise.

among people in all countries; it is particularly so among Europeans in tropical climates. This opinion receives proof and illustration from the example of planters; particularly from the example of the younger class of planters, who are obliged to spend the greatest part of the day in the sun, superintending the field labours of the slaves. This class of people may be said to work hard. When actively employed they are little liable to sickness; while soldiers, confined the greatest part of their time to barracks, supinely passing their hours in a state of indolence and ease, suffer severely. The effect of exercise is thus salutary: and such salutary effect may be supposed to arise from a double cause; either the reduction of fulness in consequence of perspiration; or a constrained action in the organic structure analogous with the actions of health, and, as moving in an active routine, little susceptible of foreign impression. Planters continue healthy under the activity of daily occupation; soldiers, in a similar manner, are healthy and vigorous under activity of military service, even in tropical climates. If the military service demands daily exertions of activity for six days, or for six months, the troops rarely experience any material illness during the period of exertion. The cessation from labour, or the return of rest, is almost uniformly followed by sickness. The sickness, occurring in this case, in reality the product of rest and ennui, is usually ascribed to the preceding toils. This is an error of great consequence to the interests of military service; and, on this account, the foundations of it ought to be examined, that the case may be thoroughly understood. It was said just now, that, if activity of service continue six days, or if it continue six months, general sickness rarely appears before the cessation of the fatigues. It appears among the multitude soon after rest, particularly where rest is joined with full living; but it rarely

rarely appears among those, who, though they may have undergone the toils of the campaign, continue their labours nearly to the same extent as when they were ostensibly upon service. If this be true, and there are numerous examples in proof, it is clear that rest, not toil, is the cause of the sickness. This is a matter of fact; and it is explained consistently with the laws of animal economy. It corresponds with the nature of animal structure, that, an animal body, well nourished, fills rapidly when in a state of rest. If there be no evacuation by natural or artificial outlet, the movements of health are subverted by the action of the excess or repletion which takes place in this case; and which, when beyond a certain measure, has the force of a cause irritating to subversion, rather than stimulating to regular movement. This is strongly exemplified in the embarkation of troops in transport ships, in tropical climates, particularly in hot weather, among persons newly arrived in tropical latitudes. It was instanced often in the late war in St. Domingo: it was proved in that country, that soldiers who had been living in the open air, and who possessed the powers of moving about with such freedom when on shore, as comprehended a certain degree of exercise, though embarked in apparent good health, in transport ships, in order to be carried to distant posts, sickened, usually in the course of one, two or three days, in an astonishing proportion---to one third, even to one half of the whole. The attack was sudden, as if the cause had been the breath of pestilence; yet there was no suspicion of contagion, and no visible cause of disease existed, except the confinement and ennui of a transport ship, accompanied with such accession of heat in the air, as must necessarily arise among persons, crouded and confined in narrow space:---the sickness came like the explosion of a mine; the mortality, in many cases, was dreadful. This is the fact,

 indisputably

indisputably established in experience;—a practical inference may be drawn from it. Heat and moisture, acting in excess, are causes of disease; the effect of heat and moisture, on animal structure, is an effect of expansion or repletion. Such effect is generated, in the case stated, by rest and increased heat: It therefore ought to be obviated, to the farthest possible extent, by a low and measured diet,---by artificial evacuation preventative of repletion, or by such habits of exercise and toil as are attainable, obviating the effect of fulness by perspirations, or diminishing irritability by occupying the attention with strong impression. The direct contrary is the prevailing practice of the present times: the consequences are well known---general sickness and great mortality.

Military defence.

The laws, which influence the health of man in tropical countries, may be considered as common to all the islands, modified in parts according to circumstances. If the laws of health be common, an ordinary observer is led to believe, that one principle in defence, against a foreign or domestic enemy, is applicable, with a similar modification, to most, if not to all of them. The islands of the West Indies are generally mountainous, covered with woods in their natural state, intersected by ravines, and abounding with precipices of a singularly bold feature. To penetrate, without opposition from an enemy, is difficult; against opposition, directed by skill, impossible.---The coasts abound with bays, usually so accessible, that it would be difficult to calculate the quantity of defensive force, necessary to render a sea coast secure against a respectable attack. If a landing were effected, and it could scarcely fail of being effected if conducted with judgment, the communications of the troops, dispersed in numerous sea forts, being cut off, the whole of the posts or defences might be expected to fall in detail. Or, if instead of a scheme of defence, intrusted

trusted to the establishment of a chain of posts on the most accessible parts of the sea coast, the protection of an island be allowed to rest upon a work of regular fortification covering the capital, usually the aim of an enemy, as the seat of government, or the depot of the marketable property, the records of history furnish proof, that works of art, however complete in form, fall, almost without exception, even in the West Indies, where the difficulties of climate are great, if the attacks be made with skill and prosecuted with perseverance: if the fortification falls, the island follows its fate. On the contrary, if military magazines be placed in citadels formed in the interior, a successive chain of posts commanding the passes which lead to the citadels fortified with skill, the troops, organised, possessed of energy of mind and body, so disposed as to secure communication and to command the means of joint operation, it is probable, that the majority of the defensive force, moving as from a centre, might gain the point of threatened attack before the landing could be effected; at least before the means of maintaining it could be secured by works of art. As the approach of an enemy, conveyed through the seas by a numerous fleet, cannot well be concealed by any chance of accident, it is most likely, that the hostile designs will, in most cases, be frustrated in the first attempt: but should that fail, and should a landing actually be effected, the causes of embarrassment will still be great, if not unsurmountable. It is admitted, that an enemy may so far prevail, as to destroy a town or ravage a plantation; but it would require more than ordinary talent and perseverance, under the circumstances described, to ensure a conquest. The difficulties are numerous and great; and, it is not a rash assertion to maintain, that, one thousand soldiers inured to climate, masters of the desultory mode of war, disposed in the manner stated, and aided by the

ravages of the endemic malady on new comers, are equal to the destruction of ten thousand of the best troops of Europe, in the course of six months, in almost any of the islands of the West Indies. If this be so, and it will not be disputed by those who are acquainted with the scene of action, it may be inferred, that the greater number of the islands of the West Indies are impregnable against the invasion of European force, if defended upon the principle of interior citadels:---whereas, if defended upon the plan of forts on the sea coast, or of fortifications, covering the capital, there are few of them, perhaps, which could offer much resistance.

The islands of the West Indies are exposed to the invasion of foreign enemies; they are also exposed to a domestic evil,—the insurrection of slaves. Doubts may arise concerning the propriety, or practicability of trusting the chief defence of an island, against foreign invasion, to a military force stationed in the mountains of the interior, no doubt will arise, concerning the propriety of cantoning such force among the fastnesses and passes of the mountains, as the best security against revolt. Revolt is not likely to arise in towns, where white men are numerous and watchful; if it, by chance, arise upon estates in the plain, it will be crushed speedily by a force descending from the mountains; if it originates among the mountains, or if the insurgents have the means of refuge to the mountains, it must always be formidable, and it will only fail of being successful, by want of numbers, skill and energy among the revolted.

Importance of healthy positions.

It has been suggested in general terms, that, an alteration in the plan and principle of disposing the military force, for the permanent defence of the West Indian possessions, might be adopted with advantage, both for health and readiness of effect in service; an alteration, or improvement in the principle of

of disposing such force in quarters or cantonment, of arranging its domestic economy, and of directing its operations in actual war, seems also to be necessary. Such a measure calls strongly for the consideration and attention of the higher authorities of the state. It is obvious to common sense, that the preservation of health is an object of great importance, in the success of military undertakings. The principle is however either ill understood, or it is not well acted upon; for sickness has been great of late years, and mortality has been most grievous. It is to be mentioned with regret, that the features of countries, as indicating health, are rarely regarded in the manner of disposing of troops; it is not demonstrated, that military features always command the choice of military posts and cantonments; for convenience, ease and facilities of accommodation seem frequently to be causes of detaining troops in unhealthy places, or in positions apparently little defensible.

Remedies for position.

It must be admitted as a truth, for it is proved to demonstration, that the sea coast in the islands of the West Indies, near bays and creeks, where the shores are foul and muddy and the air moist, is unfriendly to the health of European troops. Such however is usually the station of the military force; for, it is near the sea coast that the principal towns are usually erected. If the position described be positively the position allotted for the erection of barracks for soldiers; as, what cannot be altogether avoided must, as far as attainable, be disarmed of its evils, it becomes an object of concern to diminish, as much as possible, the impression of the noxious causes to which the situation is naturally exposed. The principal points which regard barrack accommodation seem to be the following. The position, in the first place, to be protected, by the interposition of rising grounds or by woods, from the force of the winds which blow over noxious swamps; or, which, descending

descending from the mountains, through gullies and ravines, strike the body with a forcible impression. If such objects do not exist, within the latitude of the position destined for the erection of the barrack, they must be created artificially:—a high wall, or a line of spreading trees planted on the noxious quarter, furnishes an obvious remedy. It may be remarked in this place, that it is customary to clear of its woods, for some distance around, the site of houses, habitations, barracks or towns in the West Indies, in the idea of thereby ensuring a better ventilation of the air. The idea is erroneous; for, while nothing is more grateful to the sensations than the shade of trees in scorching climates, nothing more refreshes, and more effectually purifies the air, than the breathings of the green foliage; as nothing more completely absorbs the noxious qualities of soil, than the active process which goes on in the growth and nourishment of plants. Hence, as the shade of trees is both grateful and healthful in itself, it is an object of some consequence, that barracks, for troops, be covered by an avenue, or double row of trees; both, as furnishing shade and refreshing coolness, and as intercepting the current, or breaking the force of piercing and noxious winds.

Construction.

Next to position, the mode of construction of barrack apartments deserves a remark. It is useful, as it promises to be healthful, that the building be raised from the ground,—upon pillars, or a brick foundation—to the height of three feet or more; that it be only of one story, but that the roof be lofty, with a loose arched lining of canvas, at the distance of some feet from the roof, as a means of dividing the influence of the sun, and thereby increasing the coolness of the dwelling. Besides this provision, each barrack apartment ought to be constructed with a piazza or balcony, both in front and rear:—the balcony furnished with jealousies or Venetian blinds, painted

painted green, as refreshing to the eye, and so joined, as to be capable of excluding glare of light, strong currents of wind, or deluges of rain. The most convenient size for a barrack room seems to be that which is calculated for twelve men, with an apartment, at one extremity of the piazza, for a serjeant; or, if twenty four men be placed under the same roof, with an apartment for a serjeant at each extremity. The hammock is the best contrivance for a soldier's repose in the West Indies; and, it may be so managed, as to be the most economical. If formed of netting, in the manner of the Spanish hammock, the soldier, being furnished with the materials, might be soon instructed in the manner of forming and arranging his own accommodation. His idle hours would be thus usefully employed: but, if this be not admitted, a hammock, of strong cotton cloth, is easily provided, easily transported and less expensive, perhaps, than the usual equipment of a soldier's bed. The arrangement here proposed is supposed to apply to the circumstances of troops, assembled in great numbers, near the important positions on the sea coast: but in the other case, where the station is in the interior and mountainous parts, where materials for building usually abound, huts, capable of containing seven persons,---six soldiers and a corporal, or six soldiers and a serjeant, will be found to furnish more domestic comfort than a larger barrack. A hut, lofty and well covered with a thick roof, enlarged by the addition of a piazza, or bower, or placed under the shade of a spreading tree, will be highly grateful as a dwelling in a tropical country;---it may be considered to be, in all respects, safe on the score of health.

Equipment.

The subject of position and accommodation for troops, in tropical climates, implies a very important question for the consideration of the higher powers of the state. The loss of life has been great in the West Indies in all wars; in the late war,

Importance of the application of science to the subject.

war, particularly, it was prodigious. If the subject be viewed scientifically in all its extent, divested of prejudice and prepossession, it appears to be a fact clearly proved, that the great loss has been principally owing to defects of arrangement, or the ill judged disposition of persons unassimilated to climate. The fact has presented itself with a bold feature on many occasions; and it may reasonably be expected, that, if correct information be given upon the subject, a change in the form and manner of the future disposition will be necessarily adopted, when proved to be calculated to guard health without marring the execution of military duties. The exigence of the case sometimes commands the sacrifice of health in military service; but such exigence ought to be clearly and decidedly proved before a sacrifice be made of a blessing of so much importance. The character of districts and particular situations of country is known, by experience, to natives and inhabitants. Healthy and unhealthy positions are known to medical men upon general and sure grounds; for similar causes, acting upon similar subjects, uniformly produce similar effects. Thus the general question is open for judgment; the means of attaining information are easy, as they are certain; but it is noticed, with reluctance, that they are rarely resorted to. The neglect has been long felt, and it is grievously felt, even in the present time. Human life suffers unavoidably in war; but it is sacrificed, on numerous occasions, to ignorance and inattention,---to indolence or accommodations of indulgence. Health, a most important concern in armies, is, in reality, little regarded in military or civil arrangement. Indeed it is scarcely to be expected, that those, who command armies or who rule nations, who dedicate their time to perfect the tactic of troops, or to manage the tempers of men, can penetrate deeply into the science of health; for it requires great labour, and some talent to attain, even the first principles of knowledge

knowledge on the subject. As the attainment of knowledge is tedious and difficult; and as men, who possess power, frequently flatter themselves that they possess knowledge, they do not lend a willing ear to instruction presented by inferiors:—they follow their own opinions,---and they err in their course. In proof of this it may be observed, that the situation of the greater number of the forts and barracks in the islands of the West Indies, whether governed by the English or the French, is unfavourable to health. Where the case is otherwise, accident has had more share in the arrangement than design. The evil alluded to is of serious consequence,---the cause of multiplied mortality. A remedy exists; but the eyes of those in power must be opened, and the minds enlightened by science before it can have a chance of operation. Yet it is easy; for it can be no difficult matter, previous to the erection of forts, barracks, or even to the fixing of cantonments for troops, to institute an official and professional survey, by a committee of military and medical officers, for the purpose of ascertaining the advantages and disadvantages of positions as regarding health and defence. It is scarcely possible but that such lights would arise, in the survey, as might enable those, who are intrusted with the direction of affairs, to ensure defence and convenience, without overlooking the essential considerations due to the preservation of health. The measure is obvious, plain and simple; and though it would, to a certain extent, be effective of its purpose, it does not yet appear that it ever has been adopted, at least as far as respects the question of health.

Dress.

Besides the suggestions, relative to position and accommodation for troops in tropical countries, it may be thought not unnecessary to notice cursorily such changes and modifications of dress, as are found to be convenient or useful, according to the change of climate in which the soldier is destined to live.

live. As the heat of climate is greater in the West Indies than in Europe, it is evident, that all the articles of clothing ought to be of a lighter texture, as less oppressing the body by their weight. The hat, for instance, ought to be of light materials, formed with a very high crown for the protection of the head, and with a large brim to shade the neck, &c. from the direct rays of the sun; the cloth of the coat ought also to be of a light texture,—a coarse cassimere, a camlet, or red fustian; the pantaloons, or rather trowsers, of strong brown linen, or dowlas,---large and loose, so as not to confine the motions of the joints, and calculated at the same time to defend the legs effectually from the bite of flies and musquitoes; the shoe easy for the foot; the sock, cotton,---the gaiter, short, and neatly fitted; the robe de chambre of cotton cloth, employed as the usual covering for the night; when it serves for a shirt, and, unless in the mountains, for blanket or coverlet. It may be provided with a belt; and it may be worn, after exercise, when the soldier sits down to rest after being heated. It will be found to be an economical, and it is a safe provisionary article of clothing against the injuries arising from cold. The cloak may be made of light duffle, or strong cotton cloth. The days are hot, the nights often disagreeably cold and piercing in the West Indies, particularly, near mountains intersected by ravines. Hence a cloak, which is a convenient covering against cold, is highly useful for troops serving in a tropical country. As the body is little sensible of the impressions of cold, when actively exercised, it is proper that the soldier, while moving about on military duties or amusements during the day, be lightly covered, indeed as nearly naked, as the circumstances of the duty or amusements permit; he is thus cooler, and he endures toil longer without fatigue. The robe de chambre and the cloak, with which he is provided, furnish him with the means of security

rity from the impressions of cold when he leaves off exercise, or when the winds of the night or rather morning blow disagreeably or forcibly.---In some districts, the effect of the land wind shrivels the surface of the unprotected body, and proves an obvious cause of fever: it will therefore be a safe measure, that soldiers, not on duty, assume the robe de chambre at a certain hour in the evening; and that soldiers, on duty, assume the cloak before the land winds become sharp and shrill.

Diet.

It was mentioned above, that a measured and abstemious diet is justly ranked among the preservatives of health in tropical climates. The fact is proved so demonstratively in a variety of examples, that it would not be necessary to advert to it in this place, did not a nation, high and eminent in station, maintain the opinion, that, as animal powers are principally increased, so hardships or effects of climate are principally to be combated by the aid of good living. This opinion, which is in a manner peculiar to the English, assumes its operation in the practice of the British army. The ration, allowed for troops in the West Indies, is a high ration; and it is augmented by an extra allowance of strong liquor for drink. It is language in the mouth of every one,---" eat well and drink freely;" for it is only by such means that the debilitating effects of the climate can be resisted. This advice, though the advice of physicians, is not salutary. It has no support of its truth in the example of British people; for these die in greater proportion in tropical climates than people of any other nation; at least than those who live sparingly, and who eat sparingly of animal food. The Spaniards and Portugueze suffer comparatively little sickness, and experience little comparative mortality in the least healthy of the tropical settlements: Even the French escaped better than the English in former times; for, though

the French lived well, nay sumptuously, they cooked well, and they admitted a high proportion of vegetables in their diet. But a laboured illustration of the subject may be deemed superfluous, as the practice of most nations and the unsophisticated feelings of individuals in all nations incline, preferably, to the use of vegetable diet in hot weather and in hot climates. If there be any truth in experience, and if any knowledge be as yet attained of the laws which regulate the animal economy, it may be considered as an indisputable fact, that abstemious living is uniformly preservative of health, particularly in warm countries. On this account, a measured and well proportioned diet ought to be calculated expressly as suitable to the condition of troops in the West Indies; when so calculated and adjusted, it ought to be rigidly adhered to in practice. It is clearly proved in a multitude of instances, that a full diet of animal food is not necessary for the execution of the most effective services in tropical countries. It is proved on the contrary, that those, who never eat meat, or who eat sparingly of meat, support with facility the fatigues and toils under which, those, who are highly fed, immediately sink. This is the matter of fact according to observation in experience; the explanation of it is consonant with sound principles of reasoning, corresponding with the nature of animal structure. A full diet of animal food is the material, upon which heat and moisture operating effectively produce an exalted and abundant fund of the irritable quality; a casual change in the circumstances of which, so ticklishly disposed, produces a subversion of the healthy movement; the same change, when the quality is in a lower degree, only accelerates action to the desirable point of exertion.

Messing. In applying this physical information to practical use, it becomes proper to adjust the messing of troops, serving in the West Indies, in such manner that animal food be withheld two days

days in the week, savoury and wholesome preparations of vegetable and farinaceous matters being substituted in its place. It is customary, and it is useful that soldiers be called out early in the mornings for exercise; previous to which, a cup of strong coffee is comfortable to the stomach and salutary to the health. The morning exercises either do, or ought to employ a space of three hours. The soldier, returning from the field to his apartment, undresses, washes his body all over, puts on his gown or robe de chambre, and breakfasts on coffee or cocoa, plantain, yam or bread, with the occasional addition of fruit:---the hour of breakfast eleven. The dinner or principal meal ought to consist of soups or stews, the roots and vegetables bearing a high proportion to the animal part; the meat being, in reality, intended to give a savoury relish, rather than to fill the stomach by its quantity. This mess ought to be well seasoned and well cooked, palatable and digestible,---not unlike the pepper-pot or common mess of the lower classes of inhabitants. The evening, when the duties of the day are finished, will be the most proper hour on different accounts for the principal repast. Water ought to be the common drink of the soldier in the West Indies, but a small liqueur glass of rum, or a cup of strong coffee, will, in many cases be useful after the meal.—The expence of the mess adjusted according to this rule will not amount to the expence of the present ration. It will thus be economical: the mode of cooking will make it more grateful to the palate, more light and digestible in the stomach; and it promises to be more salutary to the health, as containing in its nutriment less of that material, which is so easily acted upon by heat or other causes of excitement.

Exercise.

It was observed, in the preceding part of this work, that exercise was useful generally in preserving health; it is useful in this view even in tropical climates. Planters, who work hard,

hard, comparatively speaking, experience good health; and soldiers, when actively employed, are more healthy than when they are confined to barracks in ease and indolence. The case is strongly illustrated in the example of the Buccaneers; even, in the example of the first planters of the islands in the American seas. This is a remote story, and may be supposed to imply some change of circumstances; but a direct, and a well authenticated proof of the value of exercise, even of hard labour, in preserving health exists in the example of French soldiers, in the island of St. Domingo, previous to the revolution in 1789. The French soldiers, Europeans, natives of France, were employed at that time in forming the great roads, and the aqueducts which convey water through the plains for the watering of the plantations. They consequently worked in the sun the whole day long, as labourers work in Europe. They sweated and toiled; and they were so tanned in colour as scarcely to be distinguishable from the Mulattoes. They were brown in colour; but it rests on good authority that they experienced little sickness while they were employed in this manner; when confined to the towns, disposed at ease, or rioting in luxury, they suffered sickness, and died in numbers like the soldiers of other nations. Hence, as the value of exercise, even of hard labour in preserving the health of European soldiers in tropical climates, may be considered as decisively proved, it is plain, that a train of such exercises, as are best calculated to attain this end, ought to be digested and enforced rigidly in practice with the British army; for such practice is evidently conducive to the preservation of health. The suggestion is reasonable; the usefulness rests on the testimony of experience; but it is doubtful, that the authority, now adduced, will be deemed sufficient to force attention to the subject. The opinions of military and medical men are generally contrary to the

the doctrine here proposed: it has even been suggested, and the practice is actually adopted, to attach to European regiments, serving in the West Indies, a certain proportion of black men in quality of pioneers, for the execution of the common drudgeries of a soldier's duty. The proposition sounds well in theory, but it must fail in practice; for a soldier, exempted from such drudgeries, as relate to the care of his person or independence in times of peace, can not be expected to be effective in the field in times of war. The endurance of military toil in all its forms is comprehended in a soldier's duties; a soldier ought therefore to be accustomed to do all those things, which belong to military service in tropical, as well as in temperate climates: his physical capacities are not unequal to the task,---a fact fully proved in variety of experiences well authenticated.---But in order to effect the purpose in view, it may be observed in this place, that, besides the execution of military duties, which ought to be performed with energy and effect,—animated by whatever can give interest, and continued till the routine of action, impressed upon the organism, engender a habit, a train of amusements, such as bowling, fives, &c. should also be entered into, and persevered in systematically in the open air, under the shade of trees, even in the sun. When men are employed in exercise, they run no risk of being hurt by cold; soldiers ought therefore only to be covered with a shirt and trowsers during exercise; for they thus endure toil longer. Having been exercised with energy they are allowed to rest; they ought then to be washed with cold water,—salt water in preference:—the practice is refreshing, invigorating; and it fortifies against the effects of cold. This will seem a strange doctrine to many; but it certainly is a safe one. It is prudent that every part of a soldier's time be occupied with military duties, military exercises, amusements and sports in

in the open air in the West Indies, as well as in Europe: when these cease, military instructions, songs and martial music succeed, as causes calculated to give impulse in the military channel. By this discipline the body will be rendered equal to toils, and fatigues in the field, the mind will become ardent in courage, animated with a desire of enterprise and thirst of glory. Besides this military routine, so necessary for the perfection of the military character, a portion of the soldier's time may be usefully allotted to the purpose of cultivating the provisions of a kitchen garden for the benefit of the mess. The exercise will be useful in preserving health; and the object is interesting, as adding to domestic comfort. An European soldier, treated in this manner, may be expected to be speedily reconciled to his condition, and to be led into the way of finding pleasure in a foreign country; for the tropical countries, to persons who enjoy health, present sublime objects and interesting views of nature; such views, as engage the mind in contemplation, and elevate the thinking faculty to great and magnificent conceptions: great conceptions mark the peculiar character of the soldier; they ought therefore to be solicitously cultivated.

Explanation of the causes of disease.

It may be inferred from what is said in this place, that the rules, recommended by writers for the economy and management of the health of troops serving in the West Indies, as they are unfortunate in their effects, according to the best testimonies of experience, cannot be supposed to stand on foundations of sound reasoning, corresponding with the nature of things. It is obvious to common apprehension, that expansion, or repletion of the animal body, is a frequent cause of acute disease: the heat of climate naturally expands the volume of parts; the abundant supply of animal food furnishes a material, capable of expansion and susceptible of irritation in a greater proportion than matters of a vegetable nature. Hence, expansion or repletion,

repletion, the effect of heat of climate operating upon a full measure of animal food, augmented by indolence, at least not diminished by exercise or toil, may be considered as an immediate cause of the explosion of disease. The condition is prepared by care and pampering: it thus appears that the measures, so studiously recommended as preventative of sickness, are misapplied,---aggravating the action of causes which they were intended to abate or obliterate. Such error readily arises, where man consults or encourages the appetites of bodily sense, which grow by indulgence and lead to destruction. It is here particularly necessary to be ingrafted in the mind, that temperance holds possession of the fundamental rule of health; and that self-denial is the chiefest virtue of a soldier, exposed to the numerous temptations which act on animal sense.

Practice in war.

The mode of war in the West Indies is, in some manner, peculiar, at least, different from European warfare; consequently the troops require a particular form of discipline and training, whether the view be directed to the purpose of awing slaves from insurrection, or of resisting the attacks of a foreign enemy. The interior of the islands in the American seas, as formerly observed, is usually mountainous, intersected with ravines and abounding with precipices of a bold feature, covered with woods and presenting passes which are defensible by a few men against a prodigious disproportion of numbers. It is plain, that, in such a state of country, the regular mechanical tactic, commonly called Prussian discipline, has no place. The scene is broken and irregular, and the mode of war must be adapted to the scene. The mode in this case is the partizan,---desultory and irregular in manner, enterprising and bold in character. Activity, exertion, knowledge and intelligence are the requisite qualities of the soldier; for the objects are individual objects, and as such demand the exercise of the judg-

ment of the individual. A knowledge of ground, and an estimate of the value of position constitute a fundamental basis of the education. In order to attain this preliminary knowledge, it will be necessary to employ the troops in traversing mountains and plains, woods and open grounds, ravines and difficult passes; in doing which, they must be led to remark properties which give security in defence; or weak parts which give opening for offence in attack, as applicable to positions of a similar feature in other circumstances. The firelock is the principal weapon employed in irregular war; and it is fit, that the soldier be instructed to know its power at all distances, and in all directions; for the idea of distance is deceptive in broken grounds, and the aim is more or less certain, according as the position of the object is above or below the eye. It is evident that war in the West Indies can only be of the irregular and partizan character; and, on that account, all the forms of training are to be directed into that channel. The soldiers, destined for this service, ought to possess the character of the Buccaneers of former times;—the mind bold, adventurous, ready in danger; the body, vigorous, healthy,—little susceptible of the impressions of the common causes of disease,---a quality acquired by being familiarised with all the chances and changes of weather.

Arrangement of troops for the West Indies.

It is an object, not undeserving the attentions of the higher powers of government, to consider the subject of the defence of possessions in the West Indies on a broad basis, estimated in all its relations—for economy, or for security. The expence of human life, according to the existing plans of management is enormous, and the defence, without a decided superiority at sea, is not secure; for the ravages of disease come so rapidly, and rage so enormously, that the island which seems in safety to day, may, in three short months thereafter, be altogether unprotected. Such contingency is in the fate of new troops, transported

transported to a new climate. It disappoints calculation, overturning all preconcerted schemes of defence. As the plan is ineffective in purpose, it is enormously expensive in all its views; for, it may be assumed as an indisputable truth, that a force consisting of one thousand men, inured to climate, stationed in the interior or central parts of the country in the manner suggested, and trained in the suitable mode of war, will produce more effective men in the time of action, than four thousand, as rated by the muster-roll, newly transported from Europe, stationed near the sea coast, and disciplined in the highest perfection of the Prussian school. If this be well founded, and the experience of past times seems to have fully established its truth, it may be fairly inferred that it would prove a more eligible plan, as more economical of men and more effective of purpose, to constitute a body of troops specifically, as a proper military force for the defence of the islands. It would not be difficult to arrange the matter in such a manner, as to give an interest to corps so constituted, above the interest which can be expected to arise in the bosom of any man, or any set of men, transported from their native country for the defence of foreign possessions; particularly when transported to a climate, where disease rages with violence, and where a prospect of premature death is constantly before the eye. The act of garrisoning the islands, in the West Indies, is the most irksome service which falls to the lot of the soldier. It implies a privation of country, and it holds out no prospect of military glory: on the contrary, it presents the gloomy prospect of an inglorious death from disease,---an event from which a soldier is naturally abhorrent. But if a military force of the description alluded to be formed expressly for the defence of the islands, proportioned to the extent and importance of each, but disposable among the contiguous islands, in the event of dangers threatening any one

in particular, it is presumed the military purposes of defence, of one and of the whole, would be better secured than they are at present. This force being divided judiciously, stationed in such cantonments and positions as are favourable to health, and convenient for the purposes of defence in all its extent, the saving of life might be expected to be great, war would be curtailed of its miseries, and the safety of the possessions would be less precarious, for the means of defence might be expected to be effective at all times.

In order to give interest to colonial military force in defence of colonies, it seems proper, indeed necessary, that the soldier have some other attachment to his duty besides that of a mere daily pay. A lot of ground, portioned out for raising provisions and for furnishing the means of rearing such property as may add to his domestic comforts, and permit him to consider himself as an inhabitant of the country and limited proprietor of the soil, promises to ensure the object, at least in a certain degree. The property in lands, alluded to, must be considered as a species of feudal property,---not commutable or transferable, but attached to actual military service. The proposition, suggested in this cursory manner, is not visionary ; it is neither impracticable, nor difficult in practice ; but, if adopted, it is liable like similar things in other countries to degenerate and become void in its effect, by the soldier being allowed to leave the military path for the sake of farming and becoming rich. To controul this depends on the judgment, energy and virtues of the colonial government, on the zeal and patriotism of the immediate officer of the corps, who, as well as the soldier, has his farm or peculium ; but, who, as well as the soldier must cultivate the use of arms, and the science of his profession for the sake of his duties, more than his fields and his farms for the sake of their profits. In short, the military character of this military

military force must be prominent; the farming character subordinate. With a force so constituted, and stationed in the manner stated, always ready and effective, aided by the force of the planters by profession, who are secondarily instructed in the use of arms, the military service would be animated, and the islands might be deemed secure against foreign attack, or domestic insurrection.

Importance of economy.

The observance of a correct and rigid economy in armies is an object of the greatest importance in the success of war. Without correct economy, there is no security for the continuance of health; and without the possession of vigorous health, there is no dependance upon the results of military operation; for there can be no efficiency, or correspondence of exertion among the parts. The medical history of armies holds out a dismal picture of human misery. Armies were crippled or nearly destroyed by artificial diseases in the late war,---by diseases of contagion, proceeding from corrupted sources of recruiting, and gaining strength from ignorance of the principles of preserving health, or from the neglect of their application in practice. Such losses are melancholy, because they proceed from errors;---not indeed always reprehensible in design, for they proceed from misapplied cases, as well as from neglects; but they are always melancholy, and they call for a remedy. A contagious disease is an accident of frequent occurrence in armies in European or temperate climates; but it does not necessarily belong to military service, even in these countries. Wherever it exists, it argues the existence of error in the system of economy.---If the principles, laid down in the preceding pages of this work, be thoroughly understood and acted upon with energy, it may be confidently asserted that no contagious fever will arise spontaneously in an army: if introduced surreptitiously it will not make progress; for the routine of duties, enjoined

enjoined in this place, is calculated to dissipate and cut up its causes in their very roots. Soldiers, it may be observed, are selected from the healthy part of the community: reason says, that they ought to be more healthy than the mass of the people; yet the matter is not so in fact. The cause of sickness, it may be added, does not consist in actual hardships; for these are rarely of great extent; or, where they do exist, they rarely affect the health. It consists oftener in indulgence, in torpor, in accumulation in quarters, in excesses of living, in changes and novelties of impression from fluctuating causes. Armies are destroyed in European campaigns by contagious disease, the effect of accumulation and sloth, rather than of toils and fatigues: they suffer in tropical climates by exposure in a new atmosphere, which, acting by an effect of novelty, influences the routine of health. A mere change of climate affects the health; but the great prevalence of disease arises principally from ignorance of the causes of prevention, or it rather arises artificially, by adding materials in unusual abundance for the operation of unusual heat of climate. Instead of abstinence, which is found practically to be useful, full living is recommended, which experience proves to be destructive.---If the rules, suggested in this place, be duly understood and correctly executed in practice, it is believed, that the mortality among European soldiers, in the West Indies, will little exceed mortality among soldiers in temperate climates, in healthy positions;---according to the existing management it is prodigiously great.

Conclusion. In viewing the subject of military economy, in its real and important connexion with the welfare of armies, it strikes the mind, as a measure of obvious utility, that a board, consisting of officers of a high rank, men distinguished in science and experienced in military service, be constituted and appointed to super-

superintend this interesting concern in all its relations. It is evident that the foundations of the economical arrangement must rest upon principles of science: these can only be sure, as drawn from a correct knowledge of the physical powers of the animal body. The rules, formed for the regulation of diet, clothing and exercise, must be simple, convenient and effective. While nothing useful is wanting, nothing superfluous must be admitted into the arrangement. When the economical system of an army is founded upon this basis, the rules being uniformly true, as relative to physical qualities of constitution common to all men, must be held effective in operation through the whole extent of an army, no deviation being, in any degree, admitted,—even in the latchet of a soldier's shoe.*

A Board,

* In a regiment, which is to be regarded as an army on a small scale, four points are principally to be considered, viz. the preparation of the materials, that is, professional instruction in military science and practice in military exercises; the preservation of health, essential to the effective action of the elements in their individual and collective capacity; principle of consistent movement depending on a mind, formed by a religious education to pursue the path of virtue; and finally, the binding the separate parts together in action by the authority of impressive command. For the accomplishment of the general purpose, an instructor in discipline and economy, (a man well acquainted with every part of military science,) occupies the first station in the military arrangement; next a medical person of years and experience (whether physician by diploma or without diploma) possessing a knowledge of diseases and an acquaintance with the manners of soldiers; thirdly, a clergyman, devout, zealous, constantly present at his duty; and lastly, a commanding officer of original genius, at least of a strong inflexible mind. These persons are the spiritual or moving parts of a regiment or army, the hinges upon which all the movements turn; it is therefore necessary, for the purpose of correct effect, that the selection be well made, so that the disposition of things be well ordered and well executed. The commanding officer of a regiment and of an army require the same fundamental character; but the commander of an army, as his duty embraces a wider range, requires a more extensive and more varied knowledge. His mind, original in its conceptions, must depend upon its own sources and be capable of connecting, systematically, the action of all the various and even discording causes which fall within the circle of his operations. This is learned from science; but, besides the possession of science, his mind must be firm, superior to the impreſſion of passions, and unmoved by partial affections in

A Board, constituted in the manner suggested, of men of science and military experience, cannot fail of being useful in preserving

in his official course. A commander can have no power of dispensing favours; for favours to one are injustices to another: he requires a discernment, so as to be capable of distinguishing merit, and self-denial, so as to be resolute to dispose the parts in their proper places, contrary to the solicitations of private friendships. This is considered as the office of rewarding merit; it is only making use of talent for the general purposes of the service of the public. Such a commander is master of himself; he commands by justice, gains confidence from an opinion of his fitness; but, in order to be able to act with impression, his natural genius must stand above his acquired science. The regimental instructor must possess every acquirement of science, understand things in their principles: his genius may be original; but it is not necessary that it be genius of the first order. His labours are directed to instruct the reason, rather than to lead and command the passions. A regiment requires a person of this character for the superintendence of its economy; an army requires a board of officers of a similar character, furnished with experience of general service for the arrangement of its economical concerns. The medical chief of a regiment is a character of importance; for, if he be skilful and possess the power of employing his skill, his labours may be useful in preserving, as well as in restoring health. He requires knowledge, and he cannot attain knowledge without experience. Experience is thus necessary for the medical chief of a regiment; experience of the widest extent is indispensable for the medical chief of an army: his genius ought to be of the first discernment; for he has to do with things which present novelty and change. The chaplain or instructor in religion must be religious in reality,—a land-mark always in the eye of the soldier, as a demonstrative example of the value of a virtuous mind and regular conduct. The above are the four cardinal hinges in a regiment, or in an army,—similar in the one, as in the other, but reasonably supposed to be more extensive in the compass of their action in one than in the other. The military and the medical chief require original genius; the military chief an impenetrable firmness of mind; the medical chief knowledge and prompt discernment of the power of physical causes and their operations. The military instructor requires patience, diligence and correct method; the moral or religious instructor, piety in his own character, and zeal in impressing it upon others. As these are the important parts of the military fabric, their condition ought to be rendered independent, that they may be respectable in the eye of armies.

If the parts of the military fabric, alluded to, be so important as they are stated to be, and original genius so rare as it is well known to be, it might perhaps be considered as a wise measure to throw troops together in larger bodies than is at present the custom, incorporating them under a regimental surname prominent in the annals of glory, and directing them to maintain the true military course by the presence of a military officer of an eminent character. For instance, if a regiment instead of five hundred men consisted of three thousand, there would be a proportionably greater opportunity of selection from the mass of the army, for

preserving an army effective for the field; for, if it does its duty, it ensures the movement throughout, by maintaining a correct system of economy. But, though the organization be

for the purposes of command. It is little consistent with the true policy of states to bestow regiments upon favourites, because the emolument is a lucrative sinecure. It is common sense, that those persons only, who possess genius and talent, should be selected for the command of regiments or of armies; because they are capable of rendering service to the public: for if command be bestowed by favour, or sold for money, it must be good fortune if it be well placed. In the supposition that a regiment consists of three thousand men, and, that the colonel, commanding, has been selected for his genius and talent, as a man fit to rouse and maintain the military spirit in his corps, the command being important, the pay ought to be equal to that of a major-general upon service: and as his spirit is that which animates the troops, he must be constantly present at his post. A colonel may be allowed to retire with full pay after a service of forty years; even earlier, when disabled by wounds or ill health; but there ought to be no sinecure colonels. An army, well constituted, acknowledges none but officers and soldiers who are effective and fit for duty: a state rewards officers and soldiers by pension, assigned for a declared and ostensible cause. Such a suggestion may be supposed to diminish patronage; but it will ensure effective service, and exalt the character of the army by communicating an animating spirit to all its parts. As every part, according to this supposition, performs actual duty, or is rewarded in gratitude for the duties which it has actually performed, there will be no abuse of public money. The accounts will stand clear—as debtor and creditor for services actually carrying on, or as rewards for past services faithfully executed.—A plan on this, or similar grounds may not be unworthy the attention of nations, which must owe their safety to the qualities of their military force.

But, besides the greater facility of procuring officers of genius and talent to command regiments when the force is concentrated in few bodies than when it is dispersed in a great number, it is also evident, that the multitude of regiments, the variety of uniform and the latitude of thinking, which to a certain extent must always take place among different officers, while they give a variegated appearance to an instrument constructed for the performance of one purpose, also occasion a jarring and disjointed movement in the separate parts; and thus frequently are causes of failure in action. Every separate regiment forms a division in an army, and in some degree a point of distraction: the more numerous these are, the greater the difficulty must naturally be in uniting the whole in joint movement. Hence the utility of large regiments, or of troops of one character and description for the performance of one species of service. In armies acting on the grand scale of systematic war, it necessarily requires the exercise of genius, and knowledge of the human mind to arrange the parts properly: here there must necessarily be a mixture; but in colonies, particularly in islands, the force, destined for the defence of the island, may be known by one name and arranged under one head, only proportioned in number to the extent of the line of defence, or necessity of the case as connected with accidental circumstances.

 correct

correct and the economy faultless, the military character, in order to be eminent, must be animated by a military spirit; and a military spirit can only be infused generally, by the prominence of the genius of a military chief. A genius paramount in force and originality, manifested in the character of a general, animates the operations of the army with one impulse. The movement is uniform and consistent in all the parts; for the prominence of the character acts as a mirror to the lowest order of the ranks. It impresses an opinion of superiority on the mass: every one views himself in the splendor of his commander, assimilates, in idea, with his excellence, and, being superior in opinion, soon becomes so in reality. Hence, it is not the dry mechanical wisdom of the plan of battle, so much as the animating spirit of the leader, which may be considered as the pledge of success in war. The illustrations are familiar. Soldiers, who are not only radically the same, but who stand precisely in the same degree of mechanical education, carried to the point of combat by leaders of different force of character, do not act with the same energy and effect in the different cases. The physical power is one; the animating spirit is different, and the issue is opposite as victory or defeat.

It may be observed, in this place, that good officers abound among all nations who cultivate the art of war; the genuine military genius is of rare occurrence: no power of industry can produce it; and no one can define the path in which it moves. The genius which leads to conquest, like the genius of a poet, is original: it is a first impression, improved by study in the book of nature only. It arises most commonly in the barbarous periods of society; and it does not appear that the education of schools, which bestows on man the ornaments of science and arts, is favourable to its production. The spirit, which knows not to submit, which retires from no danger because

cause it is formidable, is the soul of a soldier. The soldier fixes victory in his eye, as a passion rather than a reason. This forms what may be considered as genius,---a paramount genius, which domineers and conquers and enslaves: it is primary and impressive; the secondary qualities, viz. skill, courage and mental pride resist and maintain: they are improveable, and they consequently are to be principally cultivated, for they conduce to safety; which owes more to the invincible courage which does not yield in danger, than to the inspirations of genius which are transient and uncertain.

THE END.

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